

JPRS 71277

12 June 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON USSR POLITICAL
AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 870

U S S R

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET		1. Report No. JPKS 71277	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON USSR - POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS, No. 870		3. Report Date 12 June 1978		
7. Author(s)		6.		
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		8. Performing Organization Rept. No. 10. Project/Task/Work Unit No. 11. Contract/Grant No.		
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered 14.		
15. Supplementary Notes				
16. Abstracts The report contains information on government and party structure, policy and problems, law and social regulation, education, and cultural and social aspects of Soviet life, trade union and Komsomol activities.				
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors USSR Political Science Sociology Government Communism Law (Jurisprudence) Education Culture (Social Sciences)				
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms				
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5F, 5K				
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 109	
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price	

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PONOMAREV URGES STRUGGLE AGAINST ARMS RACE

East Berlin HORIZONT in German No 20, 1978 signed to press 8 May 1978 supplement pp 1-8

[Speech by Boris N. Ponomarev, candidate member CPSU Central Committee Politburo and member CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, at Conference of the Socialist International on Disarmament held in Helsinki 26-28 April 1978: "For Cooperation in the Struggle against the Arms Race, for Disarmament"]

[Text] The Conference of the Socialist International on Disarmament was held in Helsinki from 24-26 April. It was called on the initiative of the Social Democratic Party of Finland. B.N. Ponomarev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Affairs at the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, attended the discussions on the invitation of the conference initiators, to represent the CPSU. We are here reproducing his address to the conference.

Allow me to express to you our thanks for inviting a representative of the CPSU to the Conference of the Socialist International. We all welcome the convocation of such a conference on the most important international problem of our time.

When accepting the invitation we were mindful of the fundamental and unalterable attitude of our party which considers the primary task of this time the construction of permanent peace, the prevention of a new world war. Our party was and is in favor of cooperation with social democrats, especially in matters of peace and detente. This line is in full agreement with the conclusions arrived at by the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties, held in 1976, which advocated a dialog and cooperation with socialist and social democratic parties.

Allow me, most of all, to remind you that the Soviet Union's conviction in the matter of disarmament arises from the fundamental attitude of our country to the problems of war and peace, the appraisal of the actual situation shaped by international events.

In recent years, due to collective efforts, the cold war receded, and de-tente became the outstanding trend of international developments. Relations between countries with varying social systems changed for the better. That which has already been achieved has lessened the danger of war but unfortunately not yet eliminated it. At the present time people the world over are increasingly concerned that the arms race continues unabated, despite the welcome political changes in international events.

In these circumstances it is the special responsibility of the main forces acting within the workers movement to jointly champion a real transformation in the struggle for military detente, the end to the unending accumulation of weapons. Like to an alarm bell from the distant past we must heed the warning voice of Jaurès whose memory is dear to communists and socialists alike:

"We must direct all our energies to the struggle against the policy of murder, war and rapacious conquests, which threaten peace on earth."

I

The arms race has assumed truly global proportions, has become a menace unprecedented in the history of mankind. It threatens every country, every people, all future generations. The growth of nuclear arms is accompanied by increases in traditional weaponry. There are many calculations to illuminate the destructive force of the weapons currently stocked by mankind. The figures--it is impossible to describe them in any other way--are enough to let the blood run cold.

It is virtually impossible now to appraise the real danger threatening mankind by applying the customary criteria of the last world war. The two nuclear bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki cost hundreds of thousands of human lives. To this day people are dying from the after effects of these explosions. According to the data provided by the U.N. Secretary General the nuclear arsenal at present has a potential of more than 1.3 million bombs of the type dropped on Hiroshima. The tactical nuclear weapons stationed on the European Continent alone vastly exceed in explosive force all weapons used in the 6 years of World War II.

It is nearly unimaginable for us but, according to the calculations of Western experts, 15 tons of lethal force (compared to traditional explosives) now fall to the account of everyone on earth, including babes in arms. Nevertheless--and this, though totally irrational, is a fact--the arms race continues. For humanity as a whole this implies an unprecedented military, economic and political danger.

The military economy which has proliferated like a cancerous tumor, swallows immense resources of labor, natural resources, production and financial capacities. According to a report issued by the U.N. Secretary General the money spent on the arms race since World War II exceeds the astronomical figure of \$6 trillion. The annual expenditure on arms of all countries is approaching

the sum of \$400 billion. And these expenses tend constantly to grow further. Not only is the quantity of weapons on the rise, not only are these weapons steadily more powerful and sophisticated, they are also increasingly costly: A tank, a submarine or an aircraft is a dozen if not a hundred times more expensive now than about 30 years ago.

More than 50 million people are involved in arms production. More and more are the fruits of research sacrificed to the god of war. A nearly 400,000 strong army of capable scientists, engineers and technicians is employed in this field.

Ringmasters of the Arms Race

Nobody who remembers the events of the last 30 years can deny that precisely the NATO countries, and especially the United States, are the ringmasters and pacemakers of the arms race. Let us recall the development of the arms race since the end of World War II, an end which had given rise to hope among the peoples that they would never again have to live through tragedies of such dimensions.

In August 1945 atom bombs were exploded over Japan. The Soviet Union proposed to forego this new and horrible weapon. But these proposals were rejected by the West. We were bound to conclude that this weapon was being perfected and stocked for use against the Soviet Union. Four years later the nuclear weapon was created in our country also.

In April 1949 the North Atlantic Alliance was consecrated--directed immediately against the Soviet Union and its allied countries. Six years later, as the inevitable reply, the Warsaw Pact was signed although even then it had a clause invalidating it immediately upon the dissolution of the NATO Alliance.

In 1954 the United States began to stock nuclear weapons in Europe. These were described as tactical weapons. At the same time a vociferous campaign began in America concerning alleged U.S. "backwardness" in bombers, compared to the USSR. It was admitted soon after that this campaign was totally without foundation, but the martial music had successfully accomplished the establishment of a fleet of strategic B-52 bombers.

In the early 1960's a similar campaign began in the United States, this time referring to "backwardness in rocketry." In this case also official sources soon admitted that the campaign had no basis in reality. In the meantime, though, a new escalation in the arms race had occurred when the United States acquired more than 1,000 intercontinental ballistic missiles and an entire fleet of rocket equipped submarines. Obviously the Soviet Union was bound to adopt counter measures.

This recital should have given enough details of past events. Let us consider what is happening now, once again to the loud accompaniment of a campaign preoccupied with "Soviet threats." Developed was an entire complex of

new weapons types and systems, including winged rockets, neutron bombs, "Trident" submarines, MX rockets, and so on and so forth. The Soviet Union is accused of building up a powerful navy. Nothing is mentioned about the reinforcement of U.S. and other NATO naval forces. Only U.S. Defense Secretary Brown stated to a subcommittee of the House of Representatives on 11 April last: "In times of peace we aim for the presence of our naval forces all over the world," at the same time announcing his 5-year program for strengthening the U.S. Navy to the tune of \$32 billion.

How long is the situation to escalate, which, in the final analysis, only undermines international security? The Soviet Union has consistently advocated that it should not continue.

In the meantime the maelstrom of the arms race involves more and more nations. It does not even spare the developing countries, although an end to the arms race would be one of the most important prerequisites for the rapid conquest of the economic backwardness of Asian, African and Latin American countries. The consolidation of international security would facilitate the diversion of substantially greater resources to the encouragement of the development of young countries.

Few will dispute that the arms race sets up more and more barriers to economic and social progress. The bloated arms budgets exacerbate inflation and represent a serious burden to millions of working people in the capitalist countries. As you know, investments in the arms industry provide substantially fewer jobs than the same investment in civil production. The arms race therefore by no means solves the unemployment problem. On the contrary, that problem is made more acute. The arms race speeds the processes of the militarization of society and creates fertile soil for right and extreme right movements and forces, neofascist and terrorist groups to flourish.

In view of the arms race the socialist countries also are compelled to spend considerable moneys for defense. Our people would prefer to use these moneys to satisfy their growing material and cultural needs.

Nowadays global problems are the subject of lively discussion the world over. How are we to find a radical solution for the problem of energy sources, how do we get rid of epidemics, hunger and cultural backwardness, how do we prevent catastrophic changes in the environment? All these are matters of overwhelming import, truly touching upon mankind as a whole. They have no simple answer, but one thing is quite clear: Their resolution requires immense investments, and these are hampered by the constant arms race.

It is a truism that the arms race is fueled by international tension, an atmosphere of mistrust, conflict situations in international relations. That is quite correct. But something else is just as true. The arms race has acquired its own logic; fundamentally it has been transformed into an independent source of deterioration in international relations. By fomenting suspicion, mistrust and fear it undermines the efforts to develop mutual understanding and cooperation, obstructs the realization of plans already drawn up, the implementation of agreements already achieved.

The arms race obstructs the resolution of local international conflicts, be it in the Mideast, Africa or any other region. Its continuation and exacerbation affects the entire system of international relations. That in turn provides new impetus to the arms race. Even more, the very atmosphere of overkill potential makes such conflicts especially complex and urgent.

I cannot help but talk of China's policy. China strongly emphasizes all types of rearmament, including nuclear armament. The speeded-up militarization of that country is particularly dangerous because China is making territorial demands on its neighbors and bases its policy on the doctrine of the inevitability of a new world war. Peking, itself rearming, openly challenges other nations to escalate the arms race, and it does everything possible to torpedo any international action aimed at curtailing it. China has refused to accede to the treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in three media. Despite the protests of many countries it continues testing in the atmosphere.

Danger of a Nuclear Disaster

The greatest danger of all is this: The arms race invokes and steadily nourishes the danger of a nuclear disaster. This problem has long been debated by politicians and public representatives as well as scientists. Attention has properly been drawn to the fact that the arms race in effect represents the material preparation for war. The immense arsenals of rockets and nuclear weapons acquired in its course inevitably involve the risk not only of the intentional but the accidental use of these weapons, an act which might well turn out to be the spark lighting a worldwide nuclear war.

A matter of great concern is the danger of "diffusion," the proliferation of nuclear weapons. According to some calculations about 30 countries are already able to develop these weapons. They include such countries as the Republic of South Africa which, by its racial policies, challenges Black Africa as well as the entire international community of nations. Another such country is Israel. Its policy always triggers acute conflicts in one of the specially explosive regions of our planet. It is therefore obvious: The proliferation of nuclear weapons would result in a dramatic rise in the risk of somebody attempting its misuse, or even use it, for the purpose of political blackmail.

All the facts I have recounted here are well known. But now the world is on the threshold of a new stage, a new escalation in the arms race, capable of upsetting the present relative stability in the military field and thus of increasing the threat of war.

In particular a course is now being steered to the creation of weapons types and systems which, so to speak, blur the borders between nuclear and traditional warfare. Technical and military science in the United States is intently working in this field. Moreover, a great deal of propaganda is disseminated, praising the "advantages" of tiny "clean" means of mass destruction. By this means people are to be made to accept the ridiculous idea that it is "admissible" to use some types of nuclear weapons without this necessarily resulting

in a general nuclear war. This propaganda is designed to blunt the vigilance of mankind. At the same time more and more is heard about the prospects of the development of weapons system which are bound to increase the fear of the possibility of a so-called first, that is a disabling, strike. Finally weapons systems are now being developed, which imply that the arms race will burst the confines of any imaginable control system and can no longer be regulated by political means. All this increases the danger of nuclear warfare.

These are the threats which, figuratively speaking, lurk around the corner. On top of it there is the prospect of the future development of even more destructive weapons types of a fundamentally new nature.

To cut a long story short, we now have a critical situation. We cannot afford to hesitate any longer. If we fail now to turn matters around, by tomorrow not only will existing agreements on arms limitations be invalidated, it will be virtually impossible to achieve new relevant agreements. We in the Soviet Union are certain of this: Unless we succeed very soon in adopting decisive measures against the arms race, the cost will be very high indeed.

II

These days hardly any responsible politician would deny the dangers of the arms race. The circles which nevertheless advocate continuing it therefore search for various justifications. The most important one is the legend of the "Soviet threat." That is the myth which was called upon to justify every single escalation of the arms race in the past 30 years and provided the ideological platform of the cold war.

Lately the campaign regarding the "Soviet threat" has been particularly vociferous. The world press publishes one fantastic report after the other, sometimes about "ominous" Soviet designs, sometimes about some unimaginable Soviet military programs, and on occasion about improbable Soviet arms expenditures. It is symptomatic that such reports increase in frequency when the time comes to enact the current defense budgets and confirm new arms programs. Repeatedly approval of the budget has been followed by admissions that the appraisal of Soviet military potential had been exaggerated and inaccurate. Just lately a propaganda campaign was launched, claiming that the Soviet Union had violated its agreements with the United States on limitations on strategic arms. Soon after, however, it was officially reported that the Soviet Union had not in fact breached these agreements.

Occasionally we are told that the USSR's armed forces are too large to serve merely defensive purposes. The authors of such assertions disregard such circumstances, for example, as the immense stretch of our borders as well as the fact that, located beyond those borders, are some countries which are by no means friendly to the Soviet Union. Do they consider, for instance, that we must be concerned with the security of our territory in the Asian as well as the European part of the Soviet Union?

NATO generals do not even disguise the fact that their strategic rockets are directed against us; nuclear powered aircraft carriers and submarines criss-cross the seas and oceans, and all have targets on our territory and the territories of the other socialist countries. In addition there are advanced American weapons encircling the countries of the socialist community, in the immediate vicinity of Soviet borders.

Nor should we forget that the NATO countries have spent the immense amount of \$1.3 trillion for military purposes in the last 10 years (1968-1977). Half this amount was spent in the past 4 years when in fact political conditions favored arms limitations and cutbacks in defense budgets. In 1977 alone the Bloc's arms expenditure amounted to about \$180 billion. Growth was especially rapid in the military spending of the European NATO countries. In the past decade their share in the Alliance's general military expenditure rose from 22 percent to 34 percent; the arms expenditure of the FRG doubled, that of Great Britain tripled. The military budgets of small countries such as Belgium and the Netherlands rose about 1½-fold in the period 1974-1977. Defense budgets were also on the rise in other Western countries.

It is none too pleasant to have to talk about these facts on the rostrum of your conference, but they cannot simply be disregarded when we wish to deal with the question why the Soviet Union was compelled seriously to reconsider its defense. Let me tell you quite frankly that no Soviet citizen would understand or support a government which showed itself careless in this matter.

In the war against Hitler fascism the Soviet people lost 20 million dead, defending itself and the entire world against fascist invasion. We do not want any new victims.

That is why the Soviet Union has powerful armed forces, which it perfects and the combat readiness of which it adjusts to the level of current requirements. I nevertheless consider it my duty here also, before you, to reaffirm: Our armed forces, whether on land, in the air or on the sea, are intended exclusively for defense purposes. We do not recognize the arms race as a comprehensive resolution of the problem of our security, the security of our allies, the security of all peoples on earth. Instead we see such a resolution as stemming from the normalization of the international situation, the consolidation and deepening of detente, the transformation of the entire system of international relations within the meaning of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

All this is a sine qua non for the attitude of the Soviet Union. Neither in our country nor in the other countries of socialism have there ever been social groups which could profit from arms production. We have no territorial demands on any country. War propaganda is banned in our country. In recent years thousands of delegations and Western representatives have visited the Soviet Union. All of them were able to see with their own eyes that the Soviet people pursue peaceful construction. We do not need a war.

We are bound to ask whether it is possible to hatch out plans for aggression and at the same time educate people from childhood on to respect other peoples, wish to coexist with these peoples in an atmosphere of equality, friendship and extensive exchanges of truly spiritual values?

Unswervingly for Peace and International Security

It is sometimes claimed that our revolutionary ideology as such spawns the danger of Soviet military expansion. Yet the voice of V.I. Lenin, founder of our party and our state, already decisively rejected the doctrine and policy of "exporting the revolution." Our party and our government continue unswervingly to follow this line.

As you know, at the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses the reports given by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of our party's Central Committee, formulated our peace program. Its central tenets include the struggle for the cessation of the arms race. Often and at the highest levels pronouncements have been made regarding the Soviet Union's efforts for peace, international security, the exclusive designation of our armed forces for defense.

"The Soviet Union will never take the road to aggression, never raise the sword against other peoples." These words were spoken by L.I. Brezhnev, the leading representative of our party and head of the Soviet Government, a man whose life's work has provided an inestimable contribution to the maintenance of international security, who has done so much (and continues to do it) to facilitate the change to detente, the development of international cooperation.

When we celebrated the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government addressed the peoples, parliaments and governments of all countries, appealing to them "to do everything possible to stop the arms race, ban the development of new weapons of mass destruction, switch to the diminution of arms and armed forces, that is to disarmament." The burning interest of the Soviet nation in the maintenance and consolidation of peace, the hope for an end to the arms race, for general and complete disarmament, is anchored in the USSR Constitution by which the legislators guaranteed its irrevocability and permanence.

These are not just words; they reflect the profoundest concerns of our country, the wishes and hopes of the Soviet people, in short our real policy.

The most evident actual proof of the baselessness of assertions that the Soviet Union represents a military threat is the totality of our official proposals for restraining the arms race, for disarmament.

I am simply not able here to list all our initiatives. Let me remind you only of the crucial ones.

We have always considered nuclear warfare, the use of nuclear weapons, the main danger to mankind. We therefore continue to attribute priority to the problem of nuclear disarmament. The USSR proposed a ban on nuclear arms when they were first produced. This proposal was repeated on various later occasions, after we had been compelled also to develop the atom bomb. At this time all governments are familiar with our suggestions for the simultaneous cessation of the production of all types of nuclear arms in all countries and for the gradual diminution of stocks until they are completely destroyed. The USSR consistently calls for the consolidation of the rules for on the nonproliferation of nuclear arms, the provision of zones free of nuclear weapons. We are persistently advocating the general and complete cessation of all kinds of nuclear weapons tests. As you know the USSR recently suggested a moratorium on peaceful nuclear explosions so as to provide maximum impetus to the resolution of this problem.

The Soviet Union has made proposals on the ban of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction. For several years, at the special initiative of the USSR, negotiations have been conducted on a ban and the destruction of chemical weapons. We advocate the exploitation of all opportunities for the fastest possible conclusion of a convention banning radiation weapons. Finally it was the Soviet Union which, years ago, suggested a treaty banning the development of all new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, a treaty which is particularly topical in the present situation.

We are systematically and persistently advocating restrictions on traditional arms and combat forces. This is the aim of the draft agreements on the limitation of arms budgets as well as the proposals on the abandonment of military bases on foreign soil as well as the departure of foreign forces and weapons from those regions.

Lastly the Soviet Union submitted many proposals of a regional nature, aimed at excluding certain parts of the world from the arms race. Here I confine myself to reminding you that our suggestions related to security in Europe, security in Asia and measures to strengthen peace in the Mediterranean and the regions of the Indian Ocean.

Even this short survey illustrates how wide has been the scope of our initiatives in the postwar period, what it is that mainly and crucially determines our approach to the means and ways to resolve the disarmament problem.

Clear USSR Disarmament Conception

The Soviet disarmament conception is based on the following guiding principles:

Our approach is comprehensive and encompassing. Our final target is general and complete disarmament. At the same time we are realists and appreciate that the approach to this target requires much effort and a great deal of time. While we advocate the most radical measures, we simultaneously recognize the opportunities offered by intermediate solutions, of partial measures.

In this context I would like to quote the following statement by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "...there are no types of weapons, most of all no weapons of mass destruction, which the Soviet Union would not be ready to reduce on the basis of reciprocity, by agreement with other countries, eventually eliminating them from the weapons arsenal."

We are convinced that it needs the principle of equality and equal security as well as the end of attempts to obtain unilateral advantages to make negotiations effective and agreements on arms limitation and restrictions viable.

We advocate strict international supervision and do not hold it any less important than does the West. At the same time it is our opinion that controls must help strengthen the mutual confidence among nations instead of producing additional fears and suspicions.

We consider it important to involve many countries in the process of disarmament, primarily all nuclear powers and other nations which dispose of the strongest armed forces.

In effect now are several international agreements which have restricted the arms race to some extent, though, understandably enough, have been unable to stop it altogether. That is the treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, under water and in space; the treaties on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, the restrictions on antirocket systems, the convention on the ban of bacteriological and chemical weapons. Though many considered these measures unrealistic when they were initially proposed, the world situation would be far grimmer without them.

Currently many negotiations are proceeding on various disarmament problems. However, serious concern is bound to be aroused by the fact that the long drawn out negotiations and preparations of agreements on these matters have still not been concluded.

For obvious reasons the Soviet-American talks on strategic arms limitation are the focus of attention generally. The conclusion of such an agreement could become a true turning point on the way to military detente and initiate the resolution of many other disarmament problems, making them subject to practical measures.

As you know U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance lately visited Moscow. Regarding some aspects yet to be settled, a certain rapprochement of the positions held by the two sides was notable in the course of the discussions. Vance was received by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev. Their conversation was devoted primarily to the status of the preparation of a new strategic arms limitation agreement between the USSR and the United States. L.I. Brezhnev stressed the importance of resolute efforts by both sides in the search for mutually acceptable resolutions to the questions which have not yet been dealt with satisfactorily, or where final agreement is still lacking.

Both sides stated their solemn purpose to achieve a speedy conclusion of the preparation of the strategic arms limitation agreement, in order to complete it as quickly as possible. That would respond to the security concerns of the USSR and the United States as well as to the interests of the consolidation of general peace and international security.

As regards the Soviet Union, we on our part will exert all our strength for the earliest achievement of an agreement.

Nonetheless we are well aware from former experience that the internal struggles about such an agreement within the United States may well set back the entire matter. We are equally aware that the U.S. opponents of an agreement will certainly not resign themselves to USSR equality and parity with the United States. They are motivated by the wish to achieve U.S. military supremacy. Such efforts are as untenable as they are dangerous.

For some years past negotiations have been conducted in Vienna regarding the reduction of combat forces and arms in Central Europe. Serious concern is caused by the fact that as yet no agreement has resulted. After all, this is one of the most sensitive areas in the world, where the most powerful military groups directly confront one another.

Our attitude at the Vienna negotiations is doubtlessly familiar to all those present here. We base ourselves on the real facts of the situation now prevailing in Europe. That is the recognition that NATO and the Warsaw Pact dispose of roughly the same strength, confirmed by the figures furnished by each party. We therefore consider just and acceptable only such limitations which do not make available unilateral advantages to one partner.

Back in 1974 the USSR proposed an agreement to the effect that the participating countries should, in the period of negotiations, not increase their combat forces stationed in the region under discussion. Had this suggestion been accepted, there would have been no expansion of military potential in this region where two world wars erupted. But precisely those circles which make the most noise about the rise of Soviet military power in Europe, torpedoed our proposal to freeze combat forces. Instead, as I have previously shown, they strive for the increasingly strong quantitative and qualitative growth of NATO combat forces. That provides a flagrant illustration of who it is that really opposes increasing armaments, and who it is that stubbornly champions their expansion.

On 19 April the Western partners of the Vienna negotiations submitted new proposals. We are now minutely examining them. I can assure you that we, on our part, will do everything possible (evidently within the scope of the principle of equal security) in order to try and move forward the resolution of the problem posed in Vienna, a problem which is paramount for all European peoples and international detente generally.

You need not doubt our constructive attitude to any realistic initiatives. Unfortunately the same cannot be said about Western attitudes toward our suggestions. I have already mentioned past occurrences. And now?

Recently we submitted to the Belgrade Conference a platform for actions designed to lead to military detente. It includes the following proposals: The attendants at the all-European Conference are to conclude a treaty according to which none of them will be the first to use nuclear weapons against any of the others; they will agree not to stage military exercises involving more than 50,000-60,000 combat forces, nor to expand the military alliances now confronting one another in Europe by the admission of new members.

Unfortunately none of these suggestions was properly discussed, although certainly there was more than enough talk in Belgrade about the necessity to strengthen mutual trust.

The same applies to our proposal reciprocally to forego the production of neutron weapons. The threat of the production of these weapons and their stationing on the territory of other countries has caused justified and acute alarm among the peoples. And it is correct to say that never before have such wide circles of the public become involved with the question of the production and stationing of a new type of nuclear weapon. Quite obviously this has affected the decision by the U.S. President. But his decision does not remove the danger, especially because, at the same time, the order was given to begin mass production of carriers for these warheads, that is the Lance rocket, and to appropriately modify the 8-inch howitzer. Therefore, at the end of a term determined by the United States, the entire system of combat use of the neutron weapon is to be at full readiness.

The Soviet Union will not omit to respond to this matter of the neutron bomb.

I would like to add that nobody should be allowed to disclaim responsibility for the neutron weapon by asserting that the decisions were made the other side of the Atlantic. After all, we are concerned here with the fates of peoples, the fate of world peace. All must appreciate that the equipment of NATO armies with the neutron weapon is bound to trigger counter measures, inevitably leading to a new escalation of the arms race.

Thus, in brief, the chief aspects of our standpoint on the most topical questions of disarmament.

III

The historic moment we are living now requires us to recognize the full dimensions of the danger of unrestrained rearmament.

In fact, never before--neither before World War I nor before World War II--have such quantities of weapons been stocked on this earth. On top of it we

have here weapons with a destructive force exceeding 100 if not 1,000 times anything formerly known. We must also realize that we are on the threshold of a new escalation of the arms race. Nor should we underestimate the powers of those forces which fuel and promote this death dealing process.

Is it possible to stop this lemming-like rush to the abyss of war?

It is our opinion that it is possible, because the forces of peace are strong everywhere. They include the Soviet Union, the socialist community of nations, the international workers movement, the democratic movement, the national liberation movement and the unaligned countries, they include wide circles of world public opinion, democratic mass organizations and realistic political circles in the capitalist countries.

The struggle against militarism is one of the most glorious traditions of the international workers movement. By now communists and socialists exert sufficient influence to do much for the maintenance and consolidation of peace. Nobody need doubt the loyalty to the cause of peace of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Also more than 120 million voters in the nonsocialist regions of the world vote for communists and social democrats, that is for parties which affirm the cause of peace. A coalescence of the efforts of communists and social democrats therefore harbors a giant potential for peace.

The material power embodied in the policy of rearmament and preparation for war can and must be confronted with another material power.

The strategy of the powers of aggression and war must be opposed by a strategy to strengthen world peace and the security of the peoples. History provides many examples to show that imperialist and reactionary circles know how to unite their efforts, know how to prepare a long-term strategy and definite plans for the preparation and conduct of war. The times in which we live, the very dimensions of the misfortune threatening mankind, emphatically urge upon us the alliance of all forces opposed to a nuclear disaster, the drawing up of a long-term strategy to prevent war and maintain world peace. The workers movement, the will and actions of the masses of the peoples have a significant role in this great undertaking.

For Common Actions Against the Arms Race

Let me note that recently communists and social democrats have formulated standpoints on the struggle for disarmament, which come pretty close to each other.

The Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties, for example, called for military detente and proposed definite disarmament measures; it demanded general and complete disarmament under strict international supervision, the cessation of the nuclear arms race, the banning of nuclear weapons tests in all media, the establishment of zones free of nuclear weapons, and so on.

In its latest document, as you are well aware, the Socialist International also advocates military detente, disarmament and the establishment of arms controls. These documents specify that general disarmament is the ultimate goal; they include the challenge to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons, ban nuclear weapons tests and establish zones free of nuclear weapons.

The CPSU values the contacts initiated in recent years with various socialist and social democratic parties. It is intent on intensifying them. We also attribute great importance to the fact that the cooperation of representatives of our parties within the scope of international public movements, major mass organizations and forums has developed successfully. This is illustrated by, for example, the work of the World Congress of Forces for Peace, the Brussels Forums for European Security, the International Committee for the Investigation of Crimes Committed by the Chilean Junta, which was attended by representatives of many socialist and social democratic parties as well as by communists.

Evidently deeds are the acid test for all, even the most inspirational pronouncements. And when we speak of common efforts in the struggle for disarmament, this is what we base ourselves on. Obviously we are not authorized to speak on behalf of all communist parties. Insofar, however, as the CPSU is concerned, it is ready to prepare and sign jointly with social democrats a declaration or other common document on actions against the arms race.

We look at events with a realistic appreciation. Ideological differences distinguish communists from social democrats. But life itself calls for agreement on the hottest topic of our era.

Mankind as a whole is concerned with its resolution: The avoidance of a new world war and the cessation of the arms race.

We must be concerned by the fact that, in the three postwar decades, many people have, so to speak, become accustomed to living in the conditions of the arms race, in disregard of the inherent danger to peace. After all, this helps those who fuel the arms race and invest in it. We attribute the utmost importance to making sure that all peoples know and appreciate the real dimensions of the danger of war. There can be no doubt that much can be done in this direction by the officials of workers parties, the labor unions and other mass organizations, their representatives in governments, parliaments and other organs of the legislative and executive branches.

Our party is fully aware of its tremendous responsibility in the struggle for the liberation of mankind from the threats of a thermonuclear war and for disarmament. We sincerely hope that this feeling of responsibility will take deep root in the ranks of social democratic parties, their leading personalities and officials. In this connection we welcome the fact that your conference was convoked.

Life itself imperiously dictates the necessity for communist and social democratic parties to cooperate in matters of political and military detente. Indeed, cooperate! Ad hoc contacts no longer suffice. We must have steady and consistent cooperation.

In this connection allow me to submit some practical suggestions:

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and Leonid I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, permit me to invite to Moscow a representative delegation of the Socialist International and your president Willy Brandt, in order at the highest level fully to discuss the problems involved in the cessation of the arms race and subsequent disarmament.

Such conversations may help advance the current international negotiations and bring all of us closer to practical decisions.

In view of the enormous responsibility on the workers movement and of the immense potential of which it disposes, it would be useful to discuss the problem of the possible modus for establishing and maintaining constant contacts between communist and social democratic parties for the purpose of exchanging information and coordinating joint actions in matters of disarmament. In our opinion that would help surmount any still lingering prejudices, distrust and alienation as well as enable us better to understand each other's intentions.

It would be most important to motivate the widest possible circles of the public, especially nongovernmental international organizations, actively to contribute to the success of the U.N. Special Session. Our party, in turn, is prepared to help. It seems to us that your conference could do much in this matter.

We attribute great importance to the earliest possible convocation of a world disarmament conference. This could and should help resolve the problems connected with the cessation of the arms race, the reduction in arms and disarmament. The joint efforts of communists and social democrats could play an important part here also.

We all know the importance of the mass media and the influence they exert, among others, on the discussion of disarmament questions. PRAVDA, the central organ of our party, is ready to sponsor a meeting of representatives of the communist and social democratic press for the purpose of exchanging opinions and information on this matter.

We suggest the organization of a conference of representative experts on disarmament either in Moscow or elsewhere, which would involve representatives of communist and social democratic parties as well as other political forces. We would also consider it useful to establish common research groups to investigate particularly urgent questions of arms limitation and disarmament. The group of topics to be dealt with should be jointly agreed.

Days and weeks of solidarity actions regarding this or that demand have become a tradition of the workers movement. That is how we got 1 May, the day of international solidarity among working people. It would be appropriate to use the same method in the struggle against the arms race also. Such a procedure would find worldwide acceptance and represent a weighty source of influence on the opponents of military detente.

Let the voice of the popular masses rise, the demand for an end to the arms race which leads to war!

In one word, we are ready for a dialog and cooperation on the broadest basis. Of course we are also ready to discuss any other initiative in a spirit of benevolence and constructive endeavor.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize this: The Soviet Union, the CPSU and its Central Committee, headed by Leonid I. Brezhnev, the preeminent champion of peace and security for all peoples, pursue Lenin's consistent and unalterable policy of peace. They are prepared to make every effort necessary at last--in the interest of genuine disarmament--to transfer the problems of military detente to the level of practical decisions. That is our basic standpoint. It is dictated by our sense of responsibility, the concern with the fate of the Soviet people, the fate of all peoples on earth.

Allow me to wish you success in your labors.

[subheadings by HORIZONT]

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CSO: 1826

PARTY JOURNAL WORK DESCRIBES CURRENT TASK OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 7, Apr 78 pp 17-24

[Article by V. Afanas'yev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Some Problems of Theory of Administration of the Ideological Sphere of Activity"]

[Text] Only recently, our party, the Soviet people, and all progressive mankind observed the 60th anniversary of Great October. These celebrations coincided in time with the adoption of the new Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Both of these, in essence, constitute a display of the achievements of the Soviet people and our party in the 60 years of Soviet rule, achievements in all spheres of social life.

One of the most important results of our 60 year path is the new Soviet man. This was very well stated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress: "... The most important result of the past 60 years is Soviet man. A man who, having won his freedom, has managed to defend it in fierce battle. A man who has built the future, sparing no effort and making any sacrifice. A man who, undergoing all trials, has himself changed beyond recognition, embodying in himself ideological conviction and enormous vital energy, culture, knowledge, and the ability to use them. He is a man who, while a fervent patriot, has been and always will be a staunch internationalist."

The shaping of this new man is the result of the enormous transforming efforts of our party, efforts that are economic, social-political, and, naturally, above all ideological and educational. This task has always been resolved in an integrated fashion by the party, has always been systematic in character.

At present the problem of an integrated approach to resolving the problems of ideological-educational work has been placed by our party in the focus of attention of party, soviet, and economic bodies, all social organizations. Considerable work is being done to implement it.

This problem has both its theoretical and practical aspects. I should like to dwell on the theoretical side of the problem and share several ideas about the theory of administration of the ideological sphere of activities

under developed socialism. As it appears, further formulation of the theory of administration of the ideological sphere sets forth new tasks for our social scientists, sociologists, and practical workers.

The Communist Party has always structured and continues to structure its ideological and educational work on a scientific basis. At present, requirements on scientific organization of the whole matter of educational work have taken on especially vital importance. Why?

Because, first of all, the highest aim and purpose of communism is the all-round, harmoniously developed human being. This is the program-based goal of our party. It is embodied in the CPSU Program, the new constitution. Article 20 of the constitution states directly: "In accordance with the communist ideal 'The Free Development of Each is the Condition of the Free Development of All,' the state sets as its goal that of expanding the actual possibilities for citizens to make use of their creative powers, capabilities, and gifts, for the all-round development of the individual." The second factor is that as we progress toward communism, the role of the subjective, human factor looms larger. The party has repeatedly stated that the more conscious the people are, the more conscious the individual is, the more successful the cause of our building of communism will be. A third factor which is giving rise to increased requirements on ideological work is the current international situation. In the period of detente, special significance attaches to problems of ideology and the ideological structure.

The significance of ideological work is also increasing because of the scientific-technical revolution, which is imposing unusually high demands on the human being not only in terms of profession but also world-view, ideological-political, and moral aspects.

Of course, man is shaped and changed under the influence of definite objective conditions - economic, social, and political. The party, however, has always been against random shaping of the individual, especially in education, and it is entirely natural, therefore, that problems of the scientific organization and scientific conduct of ideological work has always been and continues to be the focus of major attention on the part of the party. Major decisions dealing with problems of ideological work have been made recently by the CC CPSU, including "The Work of Selecting and Educating Ideological Cadres in the Party Organization of Belorussia," "Upgrading the Role of Verbal Political Agitation in Implementing the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress," "Integrated Resolution of Problems of Ideological-Educational Work by the Osk City Committee of the CPSU," "Current Status and Measures for Improving Lecture Propaganda," and others. Under a developed socialist society, all of these decrees are resolving urgent problems of education of the people on a qualitatively new basis; they are serving the cause of further strengthening and developing Soviet society. "The strength of our system," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his Accountability Report of the CC CPSU to the 25th CPSU Congress, "is in the consciousness of the masses. And the party considers its constant concern to be that of inculcating a communist consciousness, the readiness, will, and ability to build communism."

The scientific education of the new, all-round developed man requires scientific administration of the ideological sphere, systematic, well thought out influence on the consciousness and behavior of people.

We sometimes hear doubts about the rightness of the very formulation of the problem as to the administration of ideological work, education. The following argumentation is advanced: after all, it is a matter of influencing man's consciousness, something which is a most delicate and complex product of the material world. And does this administration itself not lead to the manipulation of the consciousness and behavior of people, as is done in capitalist society?

I believe that this apprehension is unfounded. Primarily because the very nature of socialist ideology is incompatible with manipulation, with any enforced introduction of its principles into the consciousness. Communist education entails man's conscious assimilation of scientific, Marxist-Leninist ideology, reflecting the objective laws governing social development, expressing the fundamental interests of the man of labor—an ideology whose truth has been tested in practice and which is assimilated in the process of implementing its principles in real life. These fears are also unfounded because ideological work is labor, a variety of social labor. And any socially useful labor, especially the kind being accomplished on a large scale, needs administration.

What does ideological labor consist of? It consists of introducing socialist consciousness to the masses. This is the work of the party, state and social organizations, and hundreds of thousands of people. An ever-increasing number of various scientific and technical means are being used in this great and extremely important sphere of social labor. Naturally, the ideological sphere cannot and must not be excluded from the sphere of scientific administration.

Any society shapes peoples in its own form and likeness; in the consciousness of each individual it forms the ideas and feelings appropriate to the essence of the society, undertaking all measures to see to it that the affairs and actions of the people are consistent with the principles and norms prevailing in the society. This is to the highest degree applicable to socialist society, in which the basic interests of the individual and the society coincide, in which the interests of the individual are served by production, the entire system of social and spiritual values. And so, the ideological sphere in a socialist society necessarily entails scientific administration of it, as in the case of any other sphere of social life.

What is the ideological sphere under developed socialism? It is a sphere of activity in which the formation of the ideological-political and moral qualities of the individual in a socialist society, his communist education, are accomplished in a goal-directed fashion, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the achievements of pedagogics, psychology, information theory, and other sciences. Our ideological sphere encompasses production and reproduction of socialist ideas and views. And this is the result of the labor

both of those who create and develop socialist ideology and those who bring it to the consciousness of the masses, to the consciousness of every individual person. Naturally, such a sphere can hardly fail to represent a complex, dynamic system with a specific array of components (subsystems), with appropriate subjects and objects of administration. While it is linked to other systems of society—economic, social-political, family life and daily living—the ideological sphere is at the same time relatively independent, with its own specific laws governing its function and development.

The first subsystem of the ideological sphere is the socialist ideology itself, being an aggregate of political, philosophical, sociological, legal, moral, artistic, and other views of our society. This ideology was created by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and is being creatively developed with respect to the current conditions of our party, the fraternal communist parties, and a broad network of scientific institutions of a social and sociological character.

The second subsystem within the ideological sphere is the ideological-educational process. Briefly, the ideological-educational process can be defined (a Leninist definition) as a process of introducing socialist consciousness into the masses. It is a process of instruction, education, indoctrination of the individual, his self-education, the formation of the necessary ideological-political, moral, and other qualities in him.

The third subsystem is the aggregate of scientific, ideological, and ideological-educational institutions and organizations in which people and collectives work. It is they who are engaged in introducing socialist ideas into the consciousness of the masses.

And, finally, there is one more subsystem—the subsystem of ideological relations—that is, relations coming into being in the process of the development and assimilation of socialist ideas, their dissemination and conversion into solid convictions, into principles and norms of everyday life.

Thus, socialist ideology, the ideological process, the ideological organs and organizations, and ideological relations—all are components (subsystems) of the ideological sphere of society. Each of them possesses its own characteristics and performs definite functions.

The "leading man" in subsystems of the ideological sphere is the individual. It is for the sake of shaping his world-view and communist ideals in his consciousness that socialist ideology is established and developed. To shape in each member of a socialist society a harmonious system of views of the world, a system of values consistent with the essence and requirements of socialism, to elevate the level of consciousness of the individual to the level of systematized scientific knowledge, to see to it that every individual possesses a Marxist-Leninist world view--these are the main tasks of administering the ideological sphere of society.

Scientific administration of the sphere of ideology emerges primarily as a systematic, scientific influence on the object of the education--the people being indoctrinated by the subjects who are the indoctrinators, whose function is performed both by the individual educator (the teacher, propagandist, agitator, and so on) and the group of people or the organization (the ideological institution).

Administration of the ideological sphere is, in essence, administration of the affairs and actions of man, so that they to the greatest extent correspond to the essence of socialism, the principles, norms, and values accepted in the society. To administer man is to train man, to teach him to perform his social role, his functions, duties, to teach him a trade, skills of social activities, socialist community living. And it is very important to insure that the individual perceives his role as being his own, his personal matter. To administer man is not just to help him determine his role in life and perform it effectively but also to check on how the individual performs his role, to correct him when necessary, and to evaluate the results of his efforts on their merits.

While conferring extensive freedoms and rights on the individual, a socialist society is distinguished by the high demands it places on the individual; it checks on the progress and results of his efforts, comparing them to the goals and tasks facing society and the collective. It shapes in man high ideological, political, ethical, and purely human qualities.

There is no doubt that the subject of the administration of the ideological sphere is the aggregate of ideological institutions and organizations producing and reproducing socialist ideas, bringing these ideas to the consciousness of Soviet people. At the head of this aggregate of organizations is the CPSU. It exercises political leadership over society, including the ideological sphere; it maps out the main direction and goals of ideological work, the basic methods and means. It coordinates the efforts of various ideological institutions and organizations. The party is engaged in the training, placement, and formation of cadres of ideological workers.

The party exercises general leadership and political management of the ideological sphere. But at the same time it also directly administers it and is directly engaged in ideological efforts: it draws up programs, textbooks and methodological materials, and organizes cadre training. The party has its own training institutions, publishing houses, printing plants, and press media such as newspapers and magazines. The administration of all these objects is at the same time direct, concrete administration of the ideological sphere.

What are the actions of the ideological organs and institutions directed toward, what is the object of administration, as they say, in the theory of administration? It is not the individual being educated alone, it is the socialist ideology as well. This is developed, refined, and enriched on the basis of new practical experience, new scientific advances. This is the purpose of the numerous scientific institutions and educational

establishments specializing in the social sciences and party-political work. The creative development of the theory has always been and continues to be at the focus of the efforts of our party. It is, furthermore, an ideological process, the process of introducing a scientific world view into the consciousness of every individual person. This process also requires administration, organization, planning, and control. The object of the administration, finally, is the ideological relations—that is, relations that come into being between people in the process of education and ideological work. These relations must also be perfected, streamlined, organized, and developed.

Let us emphasize once more that the main link in the whole ideological sphere is the individual. The individual is the educator, the propagandist, agitator, teacher, and person being educated. The former, the educator, acts upon the consciousness of the latter, the one being educated. It is the educator who is directly the subject of administration of the ideological process within the appropriate framework. In close contact with the object of the education (the individual person or group of people, the audience), or else indirectly (via technical media), he influences people's consciousness, propagandizing Marxism-Leninism, imparting information of an ideological nature to them. The propagandist is primarily responsible for the ideological shaping and education of the working people. It is his level of training (both theoretical and methodological), ideological maturity, responsibility for his assigned job, the ability to approach people, to influence their reason and hearts, which largely determines the success of ideological work. "No supervision, no program, or what have you," said V. I. Lenin, "is in any way capable of changing the direction of concerns which is determined by the makeup of the lecturers." Following Lenin's legacies, the CPSU is focusing special attention on the selection, placement, training, and improvement of propaganda cadres.

And now a word about the functions and specifics of administration of the ideological sphere. By and large, these functions do not differ from those of administering any other sphere of development in a society. They involve defining ideas, both general and particular. They involve planning, making decisions on problems of ideology. They involve the organization of implementing decisions, very extensive, meticulous, serious work. They involve the supervision and verification of the implementation of decisions. They involve work with cadres and totaling up the results.

At the same time, administration of the ideological sphere is specific and, of course, is substantially different from the administration of production, equipment, and technology.

Administration of the ideological sphere involves no subject nor means of labor in their general sense. Consequently, there is no mechanical activation either. The process of ideological work and education involves only informational interaction between the propagandist (the educator) and the

one being educated. The educator influences the feelings and the intellect of the individual, informing him, bringing to his consciousness information whose content is socialist ideology, striving to make it a guide in the individual's practical affairs and actions.

The situation is not essentially changed in the case of the mass propaganda and information media—the press, radio, and television. Here again, in the long run, the role of the propagandist is the individual, armed with the appropriate information, and those being educated are those who hear it. It is true that the influence on people's consciousness in this case is not direct but rather via technical means, but the informational character of the interaction of the subject and the object of the education is preserved.

While administration of the productive sphere is made up of informational and physical interactions within the framework of the elementary "man-machine" system, the administration of the ideological process consists only of informational interactions within the framework of a "man—man" system, which is just as elementary, and in which the former performs the role of informant, educator, while the latter is the one informed, the one educated.

Of course, it would be a serious oversimplification to reduce ideological work to mere information and informational interaction. In addition to their purely informational functions, these mass media of information and propaganda also perform political-educational, propaganda and agitation, enlightenment, administrative, and hedonistic (the creation of a state of satisfaction or enjoyment in the audience) functions. But the means of realization of all these functions is information, the information, data, knowledge, and reports which are conveyed via the press, radio, and television.

It is also important to keep in mind that the individual shaping and conveying the information is not merely an informant but also an educator, called upon to put information which is profound in content into clear forms that are attractive and accessible to the listener or viewer. It is essential that the information process be characterized by high ideological and esthetic parameters, otherwise the person to be informed will very likely be apathetic. And it is by no means accidental that literature and art, in which the unity of the ideological and the esthetic is most clearly expressed, are extremely effective means of education.

At the same time, the person being informed is not a mere passive object of information, a "receiver" of information, he is also the subject, perceiving the information through the prism of his own "ego."

As the object of ideological influence, the individual is always a specific individual, one who combines in himself a wealth of the universal (all mankind), the specific (social, collective), and the individual (personal).

And a central place in this combination is occupied by the qualities of the man, qualities brought into being by the specific society in which he lives, by the system of social--especially economic--relations characteristic of the society.

Acknowledgment of this natural law and comprehensive realization of it is a necessary but not yet sufficient condition for the success of ideological work. If we were to restrict ourselves just to the social environment, all problems of education could be resolved in just one way: by changing the environment and thereby changing the consciousness of all people without exception in the desired direction. But in real life the situation is by no means like that. And this is because within one and the same social environment (a socialist society) we observe a variety of human individualities, each of which reacts in its own way to the surrounding world, assimilates and embodies the features of the given social environment in its own way.

All of this must be taken into account in ideological work. It is essential above all to proceed on the basis that the social environment, the socialist production and other social relations, and the ideology prevailing in the society do not by themselves, automatically, lead to the shaping of the new individual, although, undoubtedly, they play an exceptionally vital role. It is essential to make a thorough study of the empirical circumstances governing the life of each collective and each specific individual. Broadly-based, systematic, well thought out specific social research will have to provide considerable aid to the party and the state as well as organs of ideological influence. Such research constitutes a reliable, trustworthy source of information of the sort that is so essential for organizing effective ideological efforts.

When organizing ideological work, it must be kept in mind that although he is the product of a definite social environment, the individual is not swallowed up in society and the collective. He is not a powerless gear in the social mechanism but a most important functioning link in it. The individual is shaped by society, by social circumstances, but the individual himself in turn shapes society. We must not forget, as K. Marx wrote, that "circumstances are changed by people."

Since the basis of ideological work is information, one of the central tasks of administering the ideological sphere and communist education is that of perfecting the informational interaction between the subject and object of the education so that the substance of socialist ideology is vigorously brought to the consciousness of every individual, converting its principles and norms into people's convictions; only this makes it possible to realize them in specific affairs and actions.

The successful resolution of this task above all requires high quality of the ideological information. It must meet certain requirements. It must be of a party and class nature, profoundly scientific and truthful, topical,

innovative and up to date; it must combine the theoretical, logical, and emotional; it must possess profound scientific content and a clear, accessible, attractive form—these, in brief, are the requirements.

The collective or the individual organizing and carrying out ideological work must always keep in mind that their task does not consist merely of bringing general information to the masses, irrespective of conditions, place, and time, but rather information that is "tied" to the specific stage of development of our society, to specific tasks, to specific channels, to specific people. Only this kind of information is capable of serving the cause of communist education. When, where, who, what, and how to inform—these are the questions whose specific answers will have to be given by the organization or the individual involved in ideological work. Otherwise, the work will not succeed, will not be effective.

The effectiveness of ideological and informational work as a whole depends on who plans, organizes, and controls it, and this is the unconditional prerogative of the party, its committees and organizations. Such effectiveness also depends on who creates, "makes" the content of the information, determines its essence and specific forms, also on who "translates" and conveys the information, bringing it to the consciousness of the masses; this, in turn, is determined by the quality of the cadres and the level of sophistication of the media. Constant improvement of the system of ideological information is an unconditional requirement for success in all our educational work.

Also specifically manifested in the ideological sphere are such functions of administration as planning, control, and accounting. In production, as is well known, there are precise quantitative criteria and indicators, there are definite rhythms and tempos. Production obeys a definite logic—the logic of technology, the logic of equipment. As for the ideological sphere, no such "technical-technological" logic is operative. There are no rigidly established organizational norms as in production, although in the ideological sphere certain quantitative indicators are utilized. They are utilized and planned. This is especially applicable to the press, radio, and television, where specific indicators are stipulated. Ideological work can to a certain extent also be judged by the number of persons involved in a particular form of it, the number and content of responses to any particular measure (article, broadcast, and so on). Unquestionably, all of these are vital indicators, but they are by no means the only ones or even the chief ones. A different logic operates in the ideological sphere. It is the logic of knowledge, the logic of conviction, the logic of actions. And it is by no means always possible to plan it rigidly and express it in precisely quantitative parameters.

Also quite specific is the criterion of effectiveness in ideological work. This criterion is the degree, the depth, the comprehensiveness of assimilation of Marxist-Leninist ideology and communist morals by each individual, converting ideas into his personal convictions, into a guide to action; and, finally--the most important--the actions and behavior of people themselves.

"...What are the features by which we are to judge the real 'thoughts and feelings' of real individuals?" asked V. I. Lenin, and answered: "Clearly, there can be only one such feature: ...the social actions of the individual..." This primarily involves the person's attitude toward labor and social property, toward his duties, the degree of his creative involvement and responsibility, his readiness to dedicate all his strength and skill, and, if necessary, his life for his homeland, his people, the Communist Party, the cause of peace, social progress, and socialism. In short, what kind of world view a man has, his views, his consciousness, are all verified in the long run by his specific actions. And these actions are by no means measured only in terms of labor productivity, in terms of product quantity and quality, in terms of tons of metal and quintals of grain, but also in terms of spiritual values which man creates, his social commitment, his attitude to other people, to the collective and to society.

In contrast to economic administration, the effective results of which are frequently seen immediately, the effectiveness of educational, ideological work from the standpoint of shaping of the individual is not always manifested immediately and clearly but rather gradually, sometimes only after a relatively long time. The individual and his communist world view and views are shaped from childhood--in the home and school, but only after he becomes an adult and has mastered the necessary knowledge and skills does he gain the opportunity to exercise his convictions in practical--especially labor--affairs, and only then can society evaluate the effect of the education on its merits.

The Soviet people now are manifesting their most remarkable qualities in affairs of labor, in the high fervor of socialist competition, in higher socialist involvement. The Land of the Soviets has achieved remarkable successes in all spheres of social life, in implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, and one of the most important reasons for these successes is the enormous ideological work of the party.

Scientific administration of the ideological sphere requires compliance with a number of basic principles: linking educational work with real life, with party politics, with the specific tasks of the building of communism; concreteness and a scientific nature; systematicity, consistency, and organization; attention to the individual, to his internal world, and a differentiated approach to people; partyhood, intolerance to bourgeois ideology, opportunism, and revisionism.

In the administration of ideological work and the process of education, a systematic, integrated approach is highly effective. In principle, this problem was resolved at the 25th CPSU Congress. In his Accountability Report of the CC to the Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that insuring the close unity of ideological-political, labor, and moral education, taking account of the characteristics of different groups of working people--these, in essence constitute the integrated systematic approach in ideological-educational work. From this fundamental postulate derive other aspects of the integrated approach to administration of the ideological sphere.

The integrated approach, as is emphasized in the decree of the CC CPSU concerning Orsk, means that in the process of education it is matter of shaping not just one or a few but a whole complex of human qualities--ideological-political, labor, moral, physical, and others in close unity and interaction.

The integrated approach means encompassing all groups of people, taking account of their specifics (age, education, trade and type of work, interests, requirements, and so on), as was stated at the 25th CPSU Congress. It also involves insuring interaction, continuity, and consistency in all types of ideological work.

The integrated approach also requires a unity of methods of acting upon the consciousness and behavior of the individual. These methods are: persuasion and compulsion, both collective and individual. They are normative in character, they are stimulative. The task involves making effective use of all methods of influence, varying them depending on the specific circumstance, utilizing and giving preference to any one of them which is most effective under given circumstances. A brilliant example of just this kind of integrated utilization of methods of influence is the new USSR Constitution. On the one hand, it defines the broad spectrum of rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizen and, on the other hand, it regulates his rights and duties. Chapter 7 of the Constitution is titled: "Basic Rights, Freedoms, and Duties of Citizens of the USSR." Article 59 states that the exercising of rights and freedoms is inseparable from the citizen's performance of his duties. The citizen of the USSR must obey the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws, he must respect the regulations governing social community living, so as to be worthy of bearing the high title of citizen of the USSR.

The integrated approach also requires the interaction of various media of ideological work--radio, television, press, and so on. The integrated approach entails a continuity between home and school education, between school and VUZ education, between VUZ education and education within the labor collective, between education in the labor collective and education in the place of residence. And, finally, the integrated approach requires coordination and interaction in the work of all ideological institutions and organizations.

The integration of types, media, and methods of ideological work is the task of the party and local party organizations. Our country has the Leninist Communist Party and its educational efforts to thank for the birth and education of the new, Soviet man. Under the leadership of the party, the Soviet people will accomplish the highest goal of mankind--they will build communism, they will shape the all-round, harmoniously developed individual.

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SPEECH ON LATVIAN DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 19 Apr 78 pp 5-6

[Speech by deputy A. E. Voss , member of the CC CPSU, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the commission for preparing a draft constitution for the Latvian SSR, concerning the draft of a constitution (fundamental law) for the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic and the results of the general discussion presented to the Extraordinary Eighth Session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, Ninth Convocation; date not specified]

[Text] Dear Comrade deputies:

The great good fortune and high honor of performing a task of truly historic significance -- adopting a new constitution for the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic-- has fallen upon us. The draft of the republic's future fundamental law, which has been prepared with a consideration of the amendments and additions which have arisen during the course of its nationwide discussion, has been introduced for your review.

This session of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR is beginning its work on the submitted document under the profound influence of a great political and social event which coincided with the discussion of the draft of our new constitution--under the influence of the trip by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CC CPSU and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the cities of Siberia and the Far East.

The work, performed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev during this trip, received, as you know, the complete and unanimous approval of the CC CPSU Politboro, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR. It has enormous importance in further improving all our organizational, ideological, and political work and in successfully carrying out the decisions of the 25th party congress.

The report is published based on an abbreviated stenographic report.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's meetings and discussions with the workers in the enterprises of Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk and Komsomol'-na-Amur, with the builders of the Baykal-Amur Trunkline, with the party-economic aktiv, and with the fighting men of the Soviet Army and Navy found a very animated and fervent response in Soviet Latvia just as everywhere in the country.

The meetings and discussions which were held became one of the clear manifestations of the continuously strengthening unity of the party and people and were a new and outstanding expression of mutual trust and comradeship and of genuine party spirit in the contacts of the leaders with the masses. The feelings of sincere and deep respect and unbounded love and devotion which all Soviet people experience toward our glorious Leninist party, the Central Committee, and to Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally, found full reflection in them.

We ask Comrade V. V. Kuznetsov who is present at our session to convey in our name, and in the name of all the workers of Soviet Latvia our heartiest gratitude to Leonid Il'ich for his constant concern about the prosperity of our multinational socialist motherland and for his tireless and truly Herculean work for the good of the Soviet people in the name of peace and communism.

Comrade deputies:

In reflecting every aspect of public life in the republic, the draft Constitution of the Latvian SSR rests on a solid ideological, political and legal foundation.

Just as the drafts of the constitutions for the other fraternal republics, the draft Constitution of the Latvian SSR has been compiled in full accordance with the new Constitution of the USSR in which the common will of all Soviet people has been expressed, the experience and collective wisdom of the party and people has been embodied, and the historic border in our forward movement to communism--the construction of a developed socialist society--has been secured.

Produced under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Politburo and with the very active personal participation of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CC CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and chairman of the Constitutional Commission, the Constitution of the USSR is a remarkable political, ideological and theoretical contemporary document. In it are fully and concentratedly expressed the enormous socialist accomplishments and immeasurable changes which have taken place in the country during the 60 years of Soviet power; the Leninist humanism, the creative scope and the genuine democracy of Soviet society are revealed in all their depth and breadth.

During the nationwide discussion each article and each statement in the Constitution of the USSR was regulated by the theoretical thought, political

experience, and practical constructive work of the Leninist party and all Soviet people and by the deeply interested attitude of USSR citizens toward the operation of society and the state.

The workers of Soviet Latvia--an equal among the equal 15 union republics--also displayed a lot of political activity during the nationwide discussion of the draft Constitution of the USSR. At meetings in work collectives and where they lived, at sessions of the councils of workers' deputies and at open party meetings, the republic's inhabitants heartily approved the draft, unanimously supported it, and expressed quite a few proposals, desires, additions, and elaborations for the draft as a whole and for its individual articles.

In this way, the workers and all strata of the population on a par with the other fraternal peoples of the USSR made their contribution to the working out of the final edition of the country's fundamental law--the law for all our life.

The interest with which all Soviet people regardless of their national affiliation participated in the discussion of the draft Constitution of the USSR is in accordance with law. Each of us constantly senses the indissoluble blood relationship with the friendly family of nationalities which populate our great multinational motherland. We have not conceived and do not conceive of ourselves in isolation from its fate and from its heroic past and beautiful future.

Among the accomplishments of socialism of which our country and each of its citizens are rightfully proud, one of the leading places is occupied by the practical embodiment of great Lenin's ideas on a voluntary union of free nations based on the most complete trust and clear recognition of fraternal unity.

Now, the motherland of October embodies relations of the economic, state and spiritual unity of nationalities which have never before been seen in history. These relations have found a clear reflection in the fundamental law of the USSR .

The great friendship between nationalities took shape, was strengthened and underwent a check of its firmness in revolutionary battles, at civil war fronts, in the severe tests of the Great Patriotic War, and in the constructive work in the name of the motherland's well-being and the glorious traditions of the multinational family of the USSR were born and increased.

The common goals of communist construction lie at the basis of all-conquering friendship of the peoples and their close unity around the CPSU. The mighty force of the Leninist principles concerning nationality and state organization has been demonstrated and corroborated in practice many times by the experience of the USSR in solving the nationality question.

The complete and actual equality of nations and nationalities in all spheres of the life of society, the right to self-determination, and the sovereignty of all the amalgamated republics have been provided for in the Soviet country.

Democratic centralism has come forward as the way to combine national and international interests. In reviewing the development of national relations in a mature socialist society, the new Constitution of the USSR states that in our country "a new historic community of people--the Soviet people--has taken shape based on the rapprochement of all classes and social strata, the legal and actual equality of all nations and nationalities and their fraternal cooperation."

This society is now coming forth as the highest achievement of social progress.

Permeated with the ideas of internationalism, the Constitution of the USSR carefully preserves and strengthens anew the Leninist principles of the complete equality, the free self-determination of nations, and socialist federalism. It creates the prerequisites for further developing the USSR as a unified multinational state and at the same time provides the utmost favorable conditions for the flourishing of each of the union republics.

The new fundamental law of the USSR in accordance with which the Soviet people have already worked and lived for half a year testifies with special force that our society is a society of developed socialist democracy. All of us are witnesses that from day to day the enormous creative capabilities of the socialist sovereignty of the people are being demonstrated more completely and that the influence which the Constitution of the USSR has on all aspects of our life is being intensified.

Having reflected the majestic results of the revolutionary and transforming work of the party and people, it has defined the prospects for communist construction and become the basis for the further development of legislative work in the country, in particular for drawing up new constitutions for each of our country's union republics.

Comrade deputies:

One must especially emphasize that the need to draw up and adopt a new Constitution for the Latvian SSR is determined by many factors, mainly by those very profound changes in social, political and economic life which have occurred in our republic during the years since the adoption of the 1940 constitution which is now in effect.

In examining the path which has been travelled, we may with justifiable pride that these were years of an heroic and selfless struggle by the communists and all the workers in our republic for the victory and consolidation of socialism in the Latvian land. During this historically short period of time Soviet Latvia has travelled a path equal to centuries.

Experiencing the daily concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet government and feeling for themselves the favorable effect of the unbreakable friendship and fraternal mutual help of all Soviet peoples, especially that of the great Russian people, the republic workers have achieved outstanding successes in economics, science and culture and in the socialist reconstruction of all spheres of public life.

The development of the republic into a single complex of the USSR's national economy has permitted the enormous advantages of the socialist division of labor, specialization, and concentration of public production to be used to the fullest and has provided an opportunity to build up its industrial potential at accelerated rates.

It is sufficient to recall that our value of industrial production during the 37 years of Soviet power has increased 41 times. At the present time, the republic produces in nine days more industrial items than it did before under the bourgeois authorities during an entire year. According to its rates of production growth Soviet Latvia has left the FRG, France, Sweden and the other economically developed capitalist countries in Europe far behind.

Profound qualitative changes have occurred in the structure of our industrial production. Radio electronics and instrument manufacturing, chemistry, power and transport machine building, the production of automatic telephone and telegraph exchanges and cooling units have been newly created.

During the years of Soviet power more than 200 industrial enterprises, including such large ones as the Daugavpilskiy Chemical Fiber Plant imeni Leninist Komsomol, the Valmieraskiy Fiberglass Plant, the complex of chemical enterprises in Olayne, the Orakly Knitted Fabric Combine imeni 50th Anniversary of the Komsomol, and the Liyepayskiy Harberdashery Combine imeni 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Plyavin'skaya CES (Hydroelectric Power Station) imeni V. I. Lenin and the Rishskaya Hydroelectric Power Station imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR, and many very important projects with a cultural and living purpose have been created.

During this time the population of the republic has received more than 200 million square meters of dwelling space. As a comparison it is possible to say that dwellings with an overall area of less than one million square meters were built during 20 years of bourgeois power.

The Latvian village has also changed beyond recognition during the years of Soviet power. As a result of carrying out the collectivization of agriculture 338 kolkhoz and 229 sovkhoz which are confidently travelling along the path of industrialization, intereconomic cooperation and agricultural industrial integration, have been established in the republic in place of the tens of thousands of small peasant farms the majority of which dragged out a miserable existence and were in bondage to the rural bourgeois.

The historic decisions of the March (1965) Plenum of the CC CPSU and the instructions of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev concerning a fundamental upgrading of the agrarian sector of our economy are having an especially favorable effect on the results of agricultural production.

Such a dynamic development of the republic was possible thanks to the selfless labor of the workers, peasants and people's intelligentsia.

At the same time we will never forget that the basis of all our successes is the Leninist national policy of friendship and fraternal mutual help between Soviet people and the wise leadership of the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee.

As a result of the construction of a developed socialist society and the affirmation of the principles of social equality and justice and based on the accelerated growth of the socialist economy, enormous changes have occurred in the people's living conditions in our republic just as everywhere in the country.

The primary source of the people's well-being is the fact that national income has grown in Soviet Latvia nine and a half times in comparison with 1940. The average wage of workers and employees during the period from 1970 to 1977 alone increased from 126 to 159 rubles. The incomes of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers are growing at even more rapid rates.

The creation of a public health system and social security which are the best in the world has been a truly historic social accomplishment.

Great successes have been achieved in the area of the people's education. More than 440,000 young men and girls or almost a fifth of the republic's population are studying in schools, technical schools and VUZ. Under the rule of the nationalist bourgeoisie only about 8,000 specialists with a higher education were trained; now more than 46,000 students are being trained in the VUZ of Soviet Latvia.

Soviet power has opened up the greatest prospects for the development of science and the use of its results for the sake of society. The Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences which was created in 1946 with the unselfish help of fraternal republics has become a large scientific center which is known far beyond the limits of our republic.

The culture of the Lettish people which is nationalistic in form and socialistic in content has reached unprecedented heights in the fraternal family of the Soviet people.

An unbreakable union of the working class, kolkhoz peasants and the people's intelligentsia--the solid social base of our society and the guarantee of all our victories--has been formed in the republic, just as throughout the country, on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and common fundamental interests, goals and tasks.

Large scale fundamental changes have literally affected all aspects of public life in the republic.

The main result of our development under Soviet power and within the common family of the fraternal Soviet people is the fact that a mature socialist society has triumphed on Latvian soil, the Soviet way of life has been consolidated, and a new Soviet individual has grown up.

The workers of Soviet Latvia, infinitely devoted to the ideals of communism and friendship between peoples, are confidently looking to the future and selflessly working at implementing the majestic programs of communist construction.

Comrade deputies:

The fundamental features of a developed socialist society and the union-wide constitutional standards which affirm the foundation of the social and national state organization, the legal status of individuals, and the organization and activity of state organs, and which have been reflected in the USSR fundamental law and which have general importance for all union republics have been reproduced in the draft of the new Constitution of the Latvian SSR.

At the same time the draft Constitution of the Latvian SSR takes into consideration and reflects the historic, economic, national, and other peculiarities of our republic. The unity and continuity in the constitutional development of the USSR and the republics making it up are demonstrated in this.

In accordance with our party's scientific conclusions which lie at the basis of the union constitution, Soviet Latvia is defined in the draft constitution as a socialist public state. It expresses the will and interests of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, of all the laborers in the republic.

As is known, the thoroughly progressive process of rapprochement between the nations and nationalities of the USSR during communist construction, which is based on the unity of the country's political and economic systems, and the high level of social uniformity of Soviet society call forth the necessity to strengthen the origins of the union.

At the same time, the Constitution of the USSR has expanded the plenary powers of union republics.

The draft constitution grants wide independence in solving questions on state life to the Latvian SSR as a sovereign state in the USSR. It is based on the legal equality, which is defined by the Constitution of the USSR, of the Latvian SSR with the other union republics. This is expressed in the fact that it enjoys to an identical degree with them the political, economic

and military power of the USSR in defending its interests and rights and its state sovereignty and that it participates on an equal basis in developing and carrying out the domestic and foreign policy of the USSR and in forming the highest representative organs of the USSR.

The right of initiating legislation in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has been secured for the republic in the person of its highest organs of state authority. The constitution of the USSR gives to a union republic the right to participate in solving questions related to the management of the USSR in the Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Council of Ministers, and other organs of state authority. At the same time, a union republic contributes to the exercise of USSR authority on its territory and implement decisions of the highest organs of state authority and control. It also provides for composite economic and social development on this territory and coordinates and controls the activity of enterprises, establishments and organizations of union subordination. The draft completely takes into consideration these very important propositions.

Ideological saboteurs from the anticomunist camp and Latvian bourgeois nationalists are endeavoring to show that the entry of Soviet Latvia into the USSR deprived it of its sovereignty. However, these gentlemen are trying in vain to eclipse the truth with libel.

The truth is that the socialist system has ensured the true rebirth of the Latvian people, the flourishing of its material and spiritual strength and the development of the Latvian SSR as a sovereign socialist state.

Comrade deputies:

Just as the union constitution, the republic constitution points out that the nucleus of our entire political system is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It has earned the position of the leading and guiding force in society by its wholehearted service to the people. Under the direction of the Leninist party, the country's workers and peasants completed the Great October Socialist Revolution and defended its accomplishments from the encroachments of counterrevolutionaries and interventionists. Under the leadership of the party the Soviet people held out and were victorious in the struggle against the fascist aggressors and performed an unparalleled heroic exploit. In the name of the party of the communists, our country's majestic achievements during peaceful construction were tied together. During the course of this a society of mature socialist public relations was formed in the USSR and a new historic community of people--the Soviet people--took shape.

The unity of the party and people was demonstrated with new force during the discussion of the draft Constitution of the Latvian SSR. The citizens of our republic heartily and unanimously supported the proposition to legislatively reinforce the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party in the fundamental law.

Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, the Communist Party determines the general prospect for society's development and the line of the USSR's domestic and foreign policy, directs the great constructive activity of the Soviet people, and adds a systematic and scientifically based nature to the struggle for the victory of communism. At the same time the party is not replacing state organs and public organizations. It is conducting its policy primarily through the communists working in them. All party organizations operate within the framework of the Constitution of the USSR.

All of us well remember what attention Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev devoted to the Leninist principle of party and state construction in the report to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. It is completely repeated in the draft fundamental law of the republic.

Democratic principles for the organization and activity of the councils which play a key role in our system of democracy and which form the political basis of the Latvian SSR have been further developed in the draft constitution.

In our republic more than 24,000 peoples' deputies have been elected to councils. The most important principle of socialist democracy--the continuous, ever broader, and in the final analysis universal participation of the masses in controlling state and public work--is carried out through the councils

The councils of the republic--and their number exceeds 600--are an inseparable part of the unified system of the country's organs of state authority. The coordination of their work is provided for by the consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism.

Reflecting the general direction of the Constitution of the USSR, the draft fundamental law submitted for your review gives concrete expression to the authority of councils at all levels.

The highest organ of state power in the republic--the Supreme Soviet--is endowed with the right to solve all questions related to the management of the Latvian SSR. The wide circle of questions is related to the realm of its exclusive competence.

Taking into consideration the development of all aspects of the Supreme Soviet's activity, it is suggested that the number of its deputies be increased somewhat and accurately settled. There are 310 deputies in the present composition of the republic's Supreme Soviet. After adoption of the new constitution their number will increase to 325, that is, it will grow by 15 individuals.

New terms of office for councils are provided for in the draft: five years for the republic's Supreme Soviet and two and a half years for local councils. A common age qualification for elections is established. The right to vote and be elected to the Supreme Soviet and local councils is given to all citizens who have reached 18 years of age. The draft defines in detail the competence of local councils. A number of legislative norms in effect concerning councils are raised to a constitutional level. It is set

forth in the draft--and I would especially like to emphasize this--that local councils based on state interests solve all questions of local significance which are legislatively related to their management. This regulation is an important guarantee that councils will exercise authority as organs of state power.

The democratic principles in the work of the councils are receiving more thorough development. The importance of the mandate for the deputies is increased. The propositions of the draft, just as those of the Constitution of the USSR, are directed toward further strengthening the authority of the elected representatives of the people and creating conditions for the effective performance of their high rights and major duties.

The draft grants broader rights to public organizations and work collectives in discussing and resolving state and public matters and in controlling the affairs of society. As is emphasized in Article 9, the primary direction for developing democracy in the Latvian SSR further is the ever broader participation of citizens in controlling the affairs of the state and society, improving the state apparatus, raising the activity of public organizations, the intensification of popular control strengthening the legal basis of state and public life, the expansion of publicity, and the continuous calculation of public opinion.

The draft of our constitution is permeated with a genuine concern for the Soviet individual and for the comprehensive and harmonious development of his personality.

In accordance with the new Constitution of the USSR the rights and freedoms of Latvian SSR citizens have been deepened and broadened to a significant degree and have received new material and judicial guarantees.

The citizens of the Latvian SSR are citizens of the great Soviet Union. They possess the complete fullness of social, economic, political and personal rights and freedoms which have been enunciated by the Constitution of the USSR and ensured by the socialist system and by all our country's achievements. It is necessary to point out that the rights and freedoms of citizens are reflected in the draft considerably more fully than in the 1940 Constitution of the Latvian SSR.

For the first time, the rights of citizens to living quarters and to the use of the achievements of culture; the freedom of scientific, technical and artistic creativity; the right to participate in controlling state and public affairs and in discussing and adopting laws and decisions of state and local importance; the right to submit suggestions to state organs and public organizations for improving their work, to criticize shortcomings in their work, and to complain about the actions of officials and state and public organs, are confirmed.

A notable feature of the draft is the fact the implementation of the rights and freedoms of Latvian SSR citizens is inseparably linked with performance of their duties.

The draft contains important propositions about the role and place of socially useful work as a very important sphere of vital activity for each individual.

Just as the country's fundamental law, the republic's draft constitution accurately defines the economic system of mature socialism and strengthens the firm foundations of socialist society--ownership of the means of production by the workers themselves, freed from the exploitation of labor and a planned economic system.

In affirming the general principles of socialist economics, the draft particularly points out that the economy of the Latvian SSR is a component part of the country's unified national economic complex which embraces all the links of public production, distribution and exchange on the territory of the USSR.

The highest goal of public production under socialism--the fullest satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the people--has found the fullest expression in the draft.

A remarkable peculiarity which determines their vitality and power distinguishes Soviet constitutions: they are created by the people led by the Communist Party for the sake of the people and the people convert them into fact. This was again clearly demonstrated in the general discussion of the draft constitution for the republic which began soon after its publication and which became a decisive check on the quality of the elaboration. The draft was published in the republic press with an over-all circulation of almost 600,000 copies and was broadcast on the radio in the Latvian and Russian languages. Its discussion became a great political event in the life of the republic.

More than 13,000 workers' meetings were held. More than 54,000 suggestions were introduced during them. About 2,000 letters arrived in the commission for preparing a draft constitution, in party and soviet organs, and in press, television and radio broadcasting organs.

The discussion of the draft constitution in work collectives and at places where citizens live acquired an especially great range and depth.

The workers of the republic just as those of all the country perceived the general discussion of the draft Constitution of the USSR and of the draft constitution of the Latvian SSR as a very clear witness of the great trust of the Communist Party and the Soviet government in the experience of the people, the monolithic solidarity of Soviet society and the further development of socialist democracy.

The organization of the study and discussion of the draft of Soviet Latvia's new fundamental law unfolded during an illustrious time, during the upsurge in the Soviet people's work enthusiasm caused by the adoption of a new constitution for the Soviet Union and the celebration of the 60th anniversary of Great October. This discussion made the entire public life of the

republic more active and contributed to raising the workers' creative initiatives in carrying out the decisions of the 25th party congress, the December (1977) Plenum of the CC CPSU and the tasks raised by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in his speeches during recent meetings with the people of Siberia and the Far West.

The volume of work performed during the general discussion of the draft speaks about the fact that party and soviet organs and party organizations everywhere provided for the necessary organizational and mass political work with a very strict observance of the principles of socialist democracy. The skillful use in places of the experience acquired while discussing the draft Constitution of the USSR also contributed to this.

The general discussion of the draft in which almost all the republic's adult population took part convincingly showed that the workers of Soviet Latvia, its working class, the kolkhoz peasants and the people's intelligentsia saw in the submitted document an expression of the people's will and an expression of the interests, hopes and aspirations of each worker. During literally every meeting of workers which was held at enterprises, on kolkhoz and sovkhoz, in organizations and establishments, training institutions, and residences of the citizens, unanimous approval of the draft constitution and hearty support for it resounded. During the general discussion of the draft constitution, the republic's workers expressed unanimous and hearty approval of the policy of the party and its Leninist Central Committee headed by the outstanding political and state figure of today--Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. Here is the main political result of the general discussion of the draft of the new fundamental law; in this is the highest demonstration of socialist democracy.

Permit me, comrades, in the name of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR to warmly and from the bottom of my heart thank the participants in the general discussion of the draft constitution and to wish them new successes in work and life and further and ever more active participation in the construction of communism in our country.

Comrade deputies:

If one would speak on the whole, the general discussion undoubtedly provided an opportunity to improve the draft of the republic's fundamental law and to make several additions, more precise definitions and amendments in it. All told about 400 amendments arrived for individual articles which were directed toward making more precise, improving and adding to the wording of the draft. Having carefully studied all the suggestions, many of which were repeated, the commission for preparing a draft constitution recommended that changes be made in the preamble and 35 articles of the draft.

On the basis of the proposals which arrived new statements in the preamble were formulated which permitted the continuity of Soviet Latvia's state

construction to be more fully emphasized and the nature and distinctive features of our republic's formation and the Leninist national policy of the party to be better revealed.

You know that the first section of the draft constitution just as the USSR fundamental law opens with a chapter devoted to the characteristics of the political system. It would appear necessary, evidently, considering the national composition of the republic to adopt the suggestion for making the working of Article 1 more precise and record that "the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic is a socialist state of all the people which expresses the will and interests of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, and the republic's workers of all nationalities."

In maintaining continuity with the republic's 1940 constitution and considering that the administrative and territorial division was determined in it, the third section in the draft of the new constitution has the title: "The National, State, Administrative, and Territorial Organization of the Latvian SSR."

Article 68 in this section which characterizes the amalgamation of the fraternal union republics within the USSR has an extremely important common political significance. There is a proposal to reflect more completely in this article the historic fact that the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic as a sovereign Soviet socialist state has joined together with other fraternal Soviet republics in the unbreakable Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a result of the free self-determination of the people of Soviet Latvia and on the basis of free will and equality.

The commission considers it necessary and useful to add to the 11th item in Article 73 the statement that direction of trade and public catering is within the responsibilities of the Latvian SSR in the person of its highest organs of state power and control.

Considering the suggestions which have been expressed it is advisable to make some additions to Articles 102, 108 and 109 of the draft.

In particular, in Article 102 it is evidently necessary to write that not only drafts of laws for the Latvian SSR but also other important questions concerning the republic's state life are submitted for general discussion by a decision of the Supreme Soviet or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR.

The proposals that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR in the period between sessions of the Supreme Soviet not only organizes but also does away with rayons and cities of republican subordination also seems important. It is possible to reflect this in Article 109.

The addition to Article 118, Item 5 has no small significance. It talks about the fact that within the limits of their authority, the Council of

Ministers of the Latvian SSR exercises direction of the republic's relations not only with foreign states but also with international organizations in accordance with procedures established by the USSR.

During the discussion of the draft an amendment was made regarding the formation of the composition of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR. It deserves attention. Therefore, it is proposed that Article 119 state in the next edition: "For solving questions connected with providing direction to the national economy and other questions of state control, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, the first deputy and deputy chairmen and other members of the government in accordance with the law on the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR, acts as a permanent organ of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR."

Unlike the Constitution of the USSR, the republic's draft constitution also includes the section: "The State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Latvian SSR and the State Budget of the Latvian SSR." With respect to this substantial clarifications and additions are being proposed for Articles 140, 141 and 142 of the draft.

Having summarized the proposals which were made, the commission considers it necessary to point out more clearly in the draft that ensuring the combined economic and social development of the Latvian SSR in accordance with the basic tasks and directions of the economic and social development of the USSR is the aim of the republic's current and long range state plans. It is also proposed to enter the statement that one of the component parts of the republic's plans are special purpose combined programs in whose creation and execution we have already acquired definite experience.

The proposal that along with a clear reflection of plans for developing branches, plans for the economic and social development of rayons and cities of republic subordination be mentioned in article 142 and that the indicators of enterprises of union subordination which are located on the republic's territory be included in the plan for the economic and social development of the republic, makes great sense. The priority of state interests is emphasized and the established procedure for drawing up plans is completely reflected in the new edition of the articles in Chapter 16 of the draft. An addition to Article 143 regulates more accurately the process for approving the state plan for the economic and social development of the Latvian SSR.

These changes and additions are completely responsive to the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the instructions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev about the need to continually improve planning and to perform planned work in accordance with the new requirements of the times.

There is also the need to make a number of other amendments of a purely editorial nature.

Thus, in comparison with the 1940 Constitution of the Latvian SSR the draft of the republic's fundamental law consists of more articles--173 versus 118.

The introduction of the new articles has permitted basic constitutional propositions and principles touching upon vitally important spheres of state and public life to be stated more completely and the social and class nature and direction of socialism's development and the new features inherent in our society to be more deeply revealed.

On the whole it is possible to say that the content of the draft constitution was improved during its broad discussion and was enriched by the collective experience of communists and all workers in the republic.

Some suggestions which came in could not be adopted. The reasons for this are varied. The main one is that a portion of the proposals repeat our current legislation and the other portion have too detailed a nature for the republic's fundamental law and, perhaps, should be considered in our day-to-day practical work.

Among such proposals there are quite a few which correctly reflect the constantly growing responsibility of directors and of each worker for the quality of work, for the strict observance of laws, and for the performance of their duties.

A great number of proposals were directed toward the adoption of specific measures to put in good order the legal regulation of economic life, to improve environmental protection, to develop and better the public health, education and social security systems, to strengthen the family and work indoctrination of the rising generation, etc. We must take into consideration all these undoubtedly useful proposals when further improving our legislation on the basis of the republic's new constitution. They must find their embodiment in the work of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations and in the work of all economic directors.

The discussion of the republic's draft fundamental law far exceeded the limits of an analysis of its text. It took the shape of a business-like discussion by all the people of many very important questions in our life. For example, impartial and critical comments on various aspects of the activity of economic organs and public organizations and institutions and their leaders were expressed, measures were proposed to improve their work and eliminate existing shortcomings. Party and soviet organs, public organizations and economic directors must treat these critical statements of the citizens and the implementation of specific proposals from the workers very carefully.

Many proposals urge us to strengthen the struggle against parasitism, violations of work discipline, drunkenness and other anti-social manifestations. In these presentations, the meaning is observed that the rights of citizens must be inseparably linked with their duties. In connection with this it was proposed that the role of the current legislation in

providing for the performance of civil duties be increased. The essence of the matter, of course, is not only and not so much in making existing legislation more precise as in the fact that strict observance of the laws in effect and the norms of socialist society are provided for.

Many proposals were made to adopt in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution of the USSR and the republic's draft constitution legislative acts which make provisions for increasing responsibility for the output of poor quality items and the derangement of tasks in cooperative deliveries, etc.

It is quite evident that putting this into the required order in those places where it is being violated-- be it in production, or in state or public life-- is a large reserve in developing our society and in organizing the socialist competition to increase the effectiveness of production and the quality of all our work. Having put an end to such phenomenon as negligence in work, squandering of socialist property, formal and bureaucratic attitudes toward work and toward people, we will accelerate our forward movement along the path to communism much more.

Therefore, it is very important to achieve a significant improvement in the style and methods of work of all state organs, all ministries and departments, each enterprise and institution, and all our cadres and to steadily increase their responsibility for the very strict maintenance of planned, financial and in general state discipline.

As you know Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev once again directed our attention to this during the December (1977) Plenum of the CC CPSU and during his recent meetings and discussions with the people of Siberia and the Far East.

It has been recorded extremely accurately and clearly in the decree of the Politburo of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR concerning the results of L. I. Brezhnev's trip to the cities of Siberia and the Far East that all party and soviet organs and all ministries and departments must draw practical conclusions from the instructions and recommendations expressed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev during his meetings and discussions with the workers and party and economic aktiv of these regions.

Guided by the statement that the plan is the main instrument for implementing the party's economic policy, all party, soviet, and economic organs must concentrate their efforts on ensuring the unconditional carrying out of planned tasks and adopted socialist obligations during 1978 and the five-year plan as a whole.

In agriculture it is necessary first of all to concentrate forces and attention on performing the spring planting at a high agricultural technical level and in short periods of time and ensure the highly productive use of the machine tractor pool during spring field work and harvesting of crops.

All of us are required to remember that the awarding of the temporary Red Banner of the CC CPSU, Council of Ministers of the USSR, VTSSPA [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] and the Komsomol Central Committee to the republic for its victory in the union-wide socialist competition based on 1977 results has not given us any privileges except one: to work really creatively and only with the greatest possible urgency and to move in the front ranks of the competitors to fulfill and exceed the tasks of the five-year plan.

The results of this year's first quarter show that the workers of Soviet Latvia are confidently carrying out established plans and adopted socialist obligations.

In the three months the plan has been exceeded by 23 million rubles in industrial products.

We are rightfully happy that more than 30,000 front line production workers and innovators and more than 4,000 work collectives in the republic are creatively taking part in the union-wide socialist competition to carry out the plan for the third year of the five-year plan by 7 October, that is, by the first anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the USSR. The republic's workers are continuing active preparations for a Leninist communist subbotnik [work freely given to the state on days off or overtime] in order to do more for their socialist homeland and to demonstrate models of a truly communist attitude toward work based on the call of their hearts and the call of duty.

However, we cannot be complacent, we do not have the right to stop at what has been achieved. In order to be on top of the times constantly, we must without fail go further and without fail achieve more.

Comrade deputies:

When preparing the draft of the republic's constitution and when summarizing and considering the proposals of the citizens, enormous, detailed, painstaking, and politically important work was performed.

Many members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, workers in party and state organs and public organizations, and prominent specialists in the field of law and other branches of knowledge were involved in it.

Permit me in your name and the name of the republic's Supreme Soviet to express deep thanks and the heartiest gratitude to the members of the commission for preparing a draft constitution and to all the comrades who took part in this great and fruitful work.

I would also like to point out that during all stages of the preparatory work the commission members were guided by the decisions of the May and October (1977)

Plenums of the CC CPSU, by the reports of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, by his speeches during sessions of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and naturally by the Constitution of the USSR itself. The experience of the Constitutional Commission which Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev headed was thoroughly used.

The experience of organizations performing this work in fraternal republics was also considered. During the work we continually sought the advice of the CC CPSU and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR which provided us with many-sided help and which displayed day-to-day attention.

We regard the participation of Comrade Vasilii Vasil'yevich Kuznetsov, a candidate member of the Politburo of the CC CPSU and first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in the work of today's session of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR as still another clear witness of the exceptionally great attention displayed by the party's Central Committee toward our republic.

Permit me, comrades, in your name and in the name of all the workers in Soviet Latvia to fervently and heartily thank dear Vasilii Vasil'yevich Kuznetsov for coming to our republic and for participating in the work of our session.

Comrade deputies:

In the opinion of the commission, we have every basis for considering that the submitted draft of the constitution on the whole answers the requirements which are placed on a fundamental law.

Yesterday the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia convened. It basically approved the draft and recommended it be submitted for discussion to the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR.

Permit me to express the confidence that the Supreme Soviet, having discussed the submitted draft, will adopt the new Constitution of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic unanimously.

There is no doubt that the workers of Soviet Latvia, closely united around the Leninist party and its Central Committee will celebrate this historic event in the republic's life with new successes in the struggle to carry out the decisions of the 25th party congress and in the struggle for communism.

(The report of A. E. Voss was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted with applause).

8802
CSO: 1800

FORMER DISSIDENT COMMENTS ON NONCONFORMISTS IN MOLDAVIA

Tel Aviv **NASHA STRANA** in Russian 8 Mar 78 p 7

[Israeli newspaper publishes extracts from "Muki otchuzhdeniya" (Torments of Alienation) by exiled Moldavian publicist Nikolay Lupan]

[Text] We bring to your attention extracts from a new book by Moldavian publicist Nikolay Lupan entitled "Muki otchuzhdeniya."

He was formerly an editor for Moldavian television and radio programs for young people. The name of Nikolay Lupan was widely known in the world of journalism.

Three years ago dissident Nikolay Lupan succeeded in leaving the Soviet Union. At the present time he lives and works in Brussels.

Nikolay Lupan has published several books on the position of dissidents in Russia and specifically in Moldavia.

The price of thinking differently.... It is high in Kishinev. Like the word "freedom." Freedom to speak out, freedom of press, freedom to be silent... If a person does not speak at meetings, people look at him askance, with suspicion. Logic: when a person remains silent, it means he harbors certain thoughts. And since he holds them to himself and does not speak of them, it means they do not coincide with the official line. And then a separation develops between the all-powerful authorities and the suspected individual, which sacrifice cannot compensate for. Purpose: if an explosion is unexpected, this means that it has a greater effect.

Toward the end of December 1971, state security organs forcibly stopped a series of lectures at one of Kislovodsk's sanatoriums by a commodity specialist, Aleksandr Usatyuk, at the Kishinev Moldobuv' Depot and took him to parts unknown.

His wife, daughters, grandchildren and friends, who knew nothing of this, waited in vain for him at Christmas. He did not even return for New Year's. He spent both the first and second holidays in a Kishinev prison. Shortly, his "accomplices" were arrested: Georgiy Gimpu, a teacher at the Kishinev Pedagogic Institute, and Graur, a Romanian at that time residing temporarily in Moldavia.

At the time of the arrest, the republic's security organs possessed one solitary item of material evidence: a letter by the Romanian Minister of Internal Affairs Ion Stănescu to the chairman of the USSR KGB Yuriy Andropov. It said in the letter that a statement addressed to General Secretary CC CP of Romania had come from Aleksandr Usatyuk on the oppression of Bessarabians and on their russification. This statement was attached to the letter of the Romanian minister.

"This means that the 'comrades' did not believe," Usatyuk thought indignantly when the investigator showed him the letter. "They took it for a provocation.... What a foul thing to do! Is it possible with the knowledge of Ceausescu? I For everything that I left, I left in his office. Mercenary creatures.... May they be damned! If it had not been for this betrayal, the Russians would have never found our trail.... The proof cannot be doubted, Usatyuk decided to himself.

The door to the editorial room was gradually opened and through the crack there appeared the red-cheeked KGB man Kostya Vornichesku.

With a light movement he closed the door and asked:

"May I turn the key?"

"No one comes here," I said.

Nonetheless he "turned" it. Just in any case. My visitor was very upset.

"What wind brought you here to me?" I asked outright.

"For no particular reason, just for old friendship's sake," he replied.

"What sort of friendship!"

He then touched upon the question of my work. I remained silent while Kostya continued his monolog, this time saying that the authorities were not quite right in dealing with me by firing me from the position of chief editor and that "we," as he put it, would make up whatever was necessary, "would be helpful in finding a position."

"I don't need any help," I said. "All my life I have fended for myself."

"Yes, but I feel that a kind of vicious circle has been formed and that it would be hard to break out of it without our help."

"But I did not create it, nor did I close it."

"But I only wanted to say to you..."

"No need... I shall manage somehow."

"Yes, but why create artificial dissatisfaction for people? Although your dissatisfaction is quite of a different character from that of certain
fomenters of nationalist feelings. Isn't it so?" he asked with a meaningful
smile.

"I don't know what you are talking about."

"Oh, about those who assert that Bessarabia is Romanian territory...?"

I remain silent.

"After all they tried to involve even you in this messy affair?"

At this point I definitely knew what he was driving at.

"What do you have in mind?" I asked.

"You know very well what I mean," he retorted impertinently, his face becoming redder than before.

I said nothing.

"You must help us," Vornichesku continued after a long pause.

"Leave me in peace, if you please! I have enough trouble and unpleasantness..."

"Well then, we wish to help you."

I say nothing.

"Do you know Usatyuk? he asked suddenly.

"Very slightly," I replied.

"Like soap? You used to pay visits to him?"

I was dumfounded. I had no idea nor could I remember when.

"When did I visit him?"

"In May of last year."

Then I remembered.

"Did you go?"

"Yes, I went. Just once, and then at the invitation of his wife whom my wife met two years ago. This was the second time I laid eyes on Usatyuk in my life."

"Nevertheless you had a conversation with him in the course of which he tried to drag you into his affairs.... What was that conversation about?... In the summerhouse beside the gate?... The watchman from the trade depot approached you and asked for a smoke.... Usatyuk gave him a glass of wine.... Isn't it so?"

"More or less. A man approached us, but whether he was a watchman or the devil I cannot say."

"You see? Would you care to tell us about the conversation?"

"Obviously about the most commonplace things, since our wives were there as well as the physician who had operated on Usatyuk's wife."

"But when it started to rain and the women began to take back the food and the drinks into the house, you remained alone with Usatyuk. What did you then speak about?"

"Go ask Usatyuk."

"He has already told us everything. We would only like you to confirm..."

I got up, went to the door, turned the key in the reverse direction, opened it and said to my unbidden guest in a most serious tone:

"Get out!"

Vornichesku got up in obvious confusion and, moving toward the door, muttered:

"It looks as if we'll have to talk with you in another place..."

"Fine," I agreed, insistently pointing to the door.

The KGB man left.

The trial began after a six months' long investigation. Open! Open, but aside from the defendants' relatives, the courtroom was filled with KGB men and 'reliable' people.

"We are not terrorists or organizers of armed uprisings," Usatyuk said firmly.

"Just angels," a voice was heard in the courtroom.

"We have committed no crimes," emphasized Gimpu, "we tried to act peacefully and legally..."

"Fighters, that is," another crisp voice rang out.

Aleksandr Usatyuk said at the trial that at the beginning of 1941 his father, Vasile Usatyuk, whom NKVD men had seized one night from his bed in his underwear, died within the confines of GULAG during the day on 13 May. He had learned about the day and place of death of his father only thirty years later, during his own investigation, for the purpose of putting fear into him and demoralizing him.

"I am not superstitious," Usatyuk said, "but what a ghastly coincidence! I am being tried on the day of his death and quite possibly may be taken away to the same place where my perfectly innocent father met his end."

When Georgiy Gimpu was permitted to speak, he asked the judges to permit his four-year-old son to come to him. The judges so permitted.

Gimpu bent down, picked up his violin, which his wife had brought earlier to him, and said:

"Do you remember, son, I promised to buy you a violin, when you start your first grade?...",

"But I am only four years old, Daddy..."

Take it, son!"

"I don't want it, Daddy, I am still too little," the boy cried out in a strange voice, feeling that something was wrong. "Why has your hair been cut, Daddy?"

"Take it, son, I beg of you," the father said breaking into tears.

The boy put his arms around his father's neck....The violin fell to the floor. All the relatives were crying.

A voice resounded in the courtroom:

"Well, break them up! You have let your feelings run away with you..."

"So, you won't repent."

"And won't ask for forgiveness."

Usatyuk, who then was already past sixty, was sentenced to seven years of deprival of liberty and to five years of internal exile, Gimpu--to six years and Graur--to four years of deprival of liberty.

"For what?" Gimpu asked.

"For your nationalism!" a voice was heard saying.

7697
CSO: 1800

PANAMA CANAL TREATY TERMED 'IMPORTANT STEP'

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 78 signed to press 20 Feb 78 pp 23-40

[Article by M. I. Lazarev and V. N. Lunin: "The Torrijos-Carter Treaty: An Important Step On A Long Road"]

[Text] On 7 September 1977, U.S. President J. Carter and Brigadier General O. Torrijos, head of the Panamanian government, signed the Panama Canal Treaty,¹ which establishes the new status of this interoceanic route on the territory of the republic.

The Panamanian-American talks, which were called on to create an effective mechanism for regulating interrelations between the two countries on questions of canal operation to replace the previous Hay - Buno-Varilli Treaty,² based on provisions unequal to and imposing bondage on Panama, began in 1964 and proceeded in two stages: the first -- 1964-1967, the second -- 1971-1977. The second stage differed significantly from the first in connection with a substantial change in the deployment of class forces in Panama, the goals pursued by both delegations, and positive changes in the system of international relations. All this had a direct influence on the progress of the talks, and it was no accident that the development of an agreement which responds largely to the striving of the Panamanian people to put an end to a colonial enclave on their national territory became possible during precisely this period of time.

The decisive factor forcing Washington to sit down to the talks was the active emergence of broad strata of Panamanian society in the late 1950's and early 1960's in defense of national sovereignty and full moral-political support of this just struggle on the part of all the progressive forces of the world. The January 1964 massacre by American troops of unarmed Panamanian demonstrators demanding recognition of their homeland's sovereignty over the Canal Zone elicited such an outburst of protest within the country and outside it that L. Johnson's government was forced to announce its intention to find a suitable variant of a "new system" of relations with Panama. In a joint Panamanian-American declaration of 3 April 1964, Washington agreed to hold talks with the Panamanian government for the purpose of "eliminating as quickly as possible the causes of conflict between the two countries."³

The consent of the United States to find a peaceful way of resolving the "Panama problem" in no way signified that the talks would automatically lead to satisfaction of the lawful demands of the Panamanian people. Two negative factors which seriously undermined possibilities for effectively regulating the problem made their imprint on the progress of the talks in the first stage. These were the denial by a majority of the ruling circles of the USA of the necessity for fundamental change in the status of the Canal Zone and leadership of the actions of the Panamanian delegation at the talks by anti-popular, oligarchic forces.

The predominant opinion in the U.S. Congress was that it was expedient to maintain the American presence on Panamanian territory essentially unchanged. The position of the American reactionaries reduced to the fact that the 1903 treaty bound Panama by obligations not dependent on whether the people of that country liked them or not. The U.S. delegation felt the pressure from these forces and, as the progress of the talks demonstrated, strove to reach an agreement with Panama such as would change only somewhat the form of the American presence on Panamanian territory, but not its essence. Moreover, the insignificant formal changes to which the USA agreed in principle were a kind of "small change" aimed at obtaining new concessions from Panama on the question of increasing the canal's throughput and the possible creation of yet another Canal Zone. This aspect of the problem consisted in the fact that large-capacity ships could not use it due to the size of the locks. Two alternatives were advanced as ways out of the situation which had evolved: either build a new lock-less canal or add a third series of locks to the two existing ones. In order to achieve final resolution of this question and define the U.S. position, the Congress in September 1964 passed a special law creating a government commission headed by R. Anderson, who was at the same time head of the American delegation to the talks with Panama.⁴ Washington used speculation on the question of where a new canal would be built to pressure the ruling circles of Panama at the talks (specific reference was made to Nicaragua).

In the republic itself, the deployment of class and political forces in the first stage of the talks was on the whole unfavorable to resolution of the canal problem in the interests of the Panamanian people. The bourgeois-latifundista oligarchical group (the so-called "20 families") in power tried to satisfy the narrow class interests of the ruling elite at the talks, demagogically announcing that the basic demands of the Panamanian delegation were denunciation of the 1903 Treaty, unequivocal recognition of Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone, and annulment of articles in the Hay - Bunó-Varilli agreement granting Washington rights and privileges in the Zone "in perpetuity."⁵ As Panamanian communist leaders noted, the oligarchy attempted to "use the events of 9 January 1964 to make a deal with imperialism" in order to "resolve questions connected with the Canal Zone, military bases and the construction of a new sea-level canal in their own interests."⁶

The first stage of the talks ended in late June 1967 with the initialling of three drafts of the agreement: the first concerned conditions for operating

the existing canal, the second -- construction of a lock-less canal, and the third -- the defense and neutrality of the Panama Canal.

These three draft treaties would, if ratified, not have removed the tension in relations between Panama and the USA and would have damaged the republic's sovereignty to no less a degree than the Hay - Buno-Varillli treaty.

For that very reason, the drafts were decisively rejected by the Panamanian people. The country's democratic circles emphasized that the new agreements would have transformed Panama into a "South American base for imperialist aggression against Latin America and against the national-liberation movement."⁷

The drafts of the new treaties were also blocked in the USA. However, whereas in Panama they were criticized from the left, in the United States they were criticized from the right. Reactionary forces viewed the slight "weakening" of American positions in the zone (formal recognition of Panamanian jurisdiction over it, the increase in annual deductions to Panama for the canal and reference to the duration of the new treaties) as a "betrayal" of national interests which "could represent a serious threat to the security of the USA."⁸

In the end, the drafts were not only not submitted for ratification, but were not even signed.

There were no talks from 1967 through 1971. But events occurred in Panama during that period which fundamentally altered its intrapolitical situation. As a result of the military coup d'etat of 11 October 1968 which, as the Panamanian communists emphasized, became a "revolutionary action within the framework of the national crisis"⁹ which encompassed the country's political system after the break-down of the talks, the oligarchic group was dislodged from leadership of the republic.

The shifts in the intrapolitical situation in Panama occurred on a background of serious shifts in the area of international relations. Change in the alignment of forces in the world arena in favor of peace, socialism, national liberation and progress and to the detriment of war, imperialism and reaction created conditions conducive to revivifying the system of international relations on the basis of detente, which had begun to acquire its structural outlines in the 1970's, which ensured objective opportunities for the positive resolution of disputes, including those in Latin America.

Consequently, favorable international conditions arose in the early 1970's for the resumption of Panamanian-American talks on a basis which was positive for Panama. In early August 1970, the Torrijos government sent the White House an official note emphasizing that, inasmuch as the three 1967 draft treaties had not eliminated a single cause of conflict between the two countries, they were "unsuitable, even as a basis for future talks."¹⁰

Under pressure from world public opinion, the United States was forced to agree to the resumption of talks with the republic's government. It was important to official U.S. circles to strengthen their own position in Panama, perhaps even through certain changes in the status of the canal. A complete refusal to change might have undermined American influence, not only in that country, but throughout Latin America, in which an upsurge in the national liberation movement is being observed. Moreover, Washington strove to resolve the problem of increasing the throughput of the Panama Canal. The fact is that, in late 1970, R. Anderson's commission submitted a report to President Nixon in which it recommended that the U.S. government build a new sea-level canal (and not a third series of locks) in Panama, approximately 10 miles west of the existing canal.

The second stage in the talks began in late June 1971. Panama's position reduced to the following: an end to the "one state within another" situation, elimination of U.S. jurisdiction on Panamanian territory, conversion of the primary wealth of Panama -- its advantageous geographical location -- into the basic source of the country's development, ensuring the territorial integrity of the Panamanian state, and guaranteeing the operation of inter-oceanic routes on Panamanian territory for the purpose of obtaining maximum economic advantages for Panama.¹¹

Having resumed the talks, the U.S. government demagogically announced that its goal was to "demonstrate to Latin America and the entire world how the United States, a great power, could create a just and mutually acceptable system of treaty relations with small states such as Panama."¹² However, the Nixon administration planned only a minor change in the form, but not the character of the American presence in that country. The reactionary portion of the U.S. Congress even put forward harsher positions than official Washington. Some congressmen, D. Flood and T. Abernathy in particular, proposed, in a "Teddy Roosevelt period" spirit, that the Canal Zone be enlarged, rather than returned.¹³

Due to the White House's adamant position on the key aspects of the problem, in late 1972 the talks reached an impasse again. "The United States," wrote Nicolas Gonzalez Revilla, the Panamanian Ambassador to Washington, "views the problem in the exact same frame of mind as in 1903. They want to have changes without change. We, however, want changes which would actually change the status quo."¹⁴ The sole result was an agreement in principle on annulment of the 1903 convention provision granting the USA privileges in the Canal Zone "in perpetuity."¹⁵

In order to move the talks "off dead center," O. Torrijos' government appealed in January 1973 to the U.N. Security Council and the Secretary General with an official request that a Security Council session be held in Panama from 15 through 21 March 1973.

During the course of the discussion which developed at the session, touching on many aspects of Latin American life -- the necessity of rescinding the sanctions against Cuba, the struggle against the domination of international

monopolies in the economies of the region's countries, the necessity of eliminating the remnants of colonialism, and others -- representatives of a majority of the continent's states supported the patriotic position of Panama, expressing solidarity with the lawful demands of its government.

Representatives of the socialist countries -- the Soviet Union, Cuba, Yugoslavia -- which participated in the work of this session also supported resolutely the just strivings of the Panamanian people. "The USSR delegation," said Ya. A. Malik, the Soviet representative, "considers it necessary to express support for settlement of the Panama Canal dispute such that the effective sovereignty and complete jurisdiction of Panama over all its territory are respected and such as will ensure freedom of international shipping."¹⁶ Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia, and Otto Vintser, GDR Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent messages of greeting to the Panamanian government.

Thanks to the efforts of the socialist and developing-state members of the Security Council, a draft resolution calling on the parties to conclude a new treaty which would "meet in full the lawful aspirations of Panama and guarantee full respect for the effective sovereignty of Panama over all its territory"¹⁷ in the briefest possible period was prepared for voting.

However, that draft was blocked by the American delegate. When the document was submitted for voting, the American magazine NEWSWEEK reported, U.S. ambassador John Scali "pulled out his own version of a Big Stick -- a thin yellow pencil -- and decisively vetoed the proposal."¹⁸

In spite of the negative conduct of the USA, the session marked a major success for Panama -- its position at the talks received international recognition. "The holding of that session," stressed the resolutions of the Central Committee Plenum of the People's Party of Panama, "marked the culmination of a process in which the anti-imperialist position of the Panamanian government regarding the existence of a colonial enclave was silhouetted with utmost clarity, and that has exacerbated its contradictions with the oligarchy and imperialism...."¹⁹

The work of this session was also reflected in the U.S. position with regard to the talks with Panama. The republic's broad international support and, especially alarming to Washington, the growing solidarity between it and other Latin American countries compelled a portion of the U.S. ruling circles to alter somewhat their view on the canal problem. It was noted in the American press, for example, that the Nixon government's course regarding Panama was in sharp contradiction to substantial improvement in the international climate as a result of disarmament.²⁰ After the session, the Nixon administration displayed a greater preparedness to compromise with Panama,²¹ inasmuch as the canal problem had gone beyond a two-party conflict between Panama and the USA and had become one of the key problems of the whole complex of relations between Washington and Latin America. By retaining the Canal Zone at any cost, the USA might have threatened its position on the continent as a whole.

In November 1973, the Panamanian-American talks were continued. In February 1974, a declaration of principles, to which both governments were to adhere while the new treaty was being prepared, was signed. It proposed as basics that the 1903 treaty and modifications of it be annulled, that the "in perpetuity" provision be rejected, that there be a strictly fixed time limit on the new treaty, that U.S. jurisdiction in Canal Zone territory immediately cease after the new agreement went into force and Panamanian jurisdiction be restored, that the latter be granted a "just and proportionate" share of canal operating revenues on its territory, that the Panamanian side be permitted to share in management and defense of the canal, and that the question of increasing the carrying capacity of the canal be resolved on a bilateral basis.²²

The declaration of principles, which was moreover also called on to secure a U.S. declaration that it would try to achieve a "new dialog" with Latin America, contained provisions which, in O. Torrijos' opinion, signified "a step forward on the difficult road of our talks."²³

However, the reactionary portion of the U.S. Senate was resolutely opposed. In April 1974, the upper house of the American Congress voted on resolution No 301, to which more than one-third of the Senate (34 of its 100 members) had subscribed. These senators (S. Thurmond, B. Goldwater and others) demanded that the U.S. government "protect and defend its sovereign rights and jurisdiction in the canal and the Canal Zone" on the pretext that they were "extremely necessary to the defense and security of the United States and the entire Western Hemisphere."²⁴ (In March 1975, this resolution was supported by 37 senators.)

Under these conditions of opposition to a constructive resolution of the problem on the part of reactionary U.S. circles, the Latin American countries were more active in their support of Panama. The different meetings and contacts by their representatives, both multilaterally and unilaterally, invariably ended in an expression of solidarity with the struggle of the Panamanian people. This testified, in the opinion of American Senator H. Humphrey, to the fact that the outcome of the Panamanian-American talks "would have important consequences for our relations not only with Panama, but with all of Latin America."²⁵

Beginning in 1975, the Panamanian-American talks entered a decisive phase. The reference is to working out the final text of the treaty. In mid-1975, so-called conceptual agreements on three important points were prepared: defense and protection of the canal, its management, and jurisdiction. These agreements were not final, but reflected only the delegations' approaches to resolving basic aspects of the problem. Their development testified to the real possibility of concluding a new treaty. However, this prospect resulted in sharp activation of the opponents of such an agreement in the USA. In 1975, the reactionary segment of the American Congress attempted to totally undermine the talks by adopting the so-called Schneider amendment, which prohibited the State Department from allocating funds for holding talks with the

Torrijos government.²⁶ However, the attempt to get Senate approval of the House of Representatives' Schneider amendment failed.

The 1976 election campaign gave new impetus to the next adventurist policy of reactionary U.S. circles to disrupt the talks. This policy pursued the goal, on the one hand, of pressuring the new U.S. administration and, on the other, of encouraging anti-popular circles in Panama which were trying to use the slight deterioration in the country's economic situation and the delay in the canal talks to overthrow the Torrijos government. The danger came both from the oligarchic forces, which had not lost hope of returning to power, and from ultra-Left groups such as the Socialist-Revolutionary faction, which occupied an extremist position, advancing an "all-or-nothing" demand regarding the canal and the Canal Zone.

Under such conditions, further delay in the talks was fraught with serious complications. Therefore, on 6 April 1976, General O. Torrijos set 1977 as the deadline for signing a new canal treaty.²⁷ His government simultaneously made tremendous efforts to attract the attention of the world community to the state of the Panamanian-American talks. In June 1976, at the 6th Session of the General Assembly of the Organization of African States, the Latin American countries unanimously support Panama's demand that the talks be concluded successfully in 1977. In August 1976, the 5th Conference of Heads of Nonaligned States and Governments (Colombo), at which the Panamanian delegation was led by O. Torrijos, not only expressed solidarity with the struggle of the Panamanian people and government for national liberation, but also indicated that, if necessary, the nonaligned countries would give Panama "comprehensive support" and would also assist all Panamanian initiatives in international forums, and especially U.N. agencies, to establish national control over the canal.²⁸ Moreover, Washington was harshly condemned at the 31st Session of the U.N. General Assembly in December 1976. The Session adopted a resolution on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Panamanian Congress which contained an appeal to the U.S. government to end its colonial enclave on Panamanian territory and meet the lawful demands of the government and people of that country as quickly as possible.²⁹

The broad international support Panama received from the socialist states, the "Third World" countries and all the progressive forces of the globe forced the Carter administration which came to power in 1977 with the necessity of taking up quickly the search for an acceptable resolution of the Panama Canal problem. Carter changed his own hard line of the 1976 election campaign.

After many long years of talks, in September 1977 Panama and the USA signed a new treaty, the result of a compromise between the two countries and therefore not to be viewed as a final resolution of the canal problem in the interests of the Panamanian people. At the same time, it should be taken into account that it does open the way to full decolonization of Panamanian territory.

The Panama Canal Treaty³⁰ is a system of agreements between Panama and the USA which calls for an adjustment of relations between the two countries in

connection with the presence, on Panamanian territory, of an interoceanic canal built by the other state, with the assistance of Panamanians. The primary problem in preparing the new treaty was how to link the rights of the state granting its own territory for construction of the canal (Panama) to the interests of the country which facilitated its being opened (the USA). In 1903, the USA, as a mighty power, ensured its own interests by depriving Panama of basic rights on its own territory where the canal is and by allotting to it only a small portion of the financial receipts from the inter-oceanic route. The inequitable situation could not exist interminably, due to the obvious harm suffered by one of the parties.

It is generally recognized that, under the principle of sovereignty, a state on whose territory an international canal is located enjoys all the prerogatives, rights, benefits and privileges stemming from this. It can exclude activity by any other power on its own territory in general and in the area of the international canal in particular.

At the same time, a state on whose territory a canal is located is obligated not to hinder free navigation, the free passage through it of foreign commercial vessels and military ships of all countries on an equal, nondiscriminatory basis. Moreover, the state adjacent to a canal monitors the precise observance by passing vessels of canal neutrality, as well as of all established technical regulations, norms and standards.

In observing the principle of freedom of the high seas, which assumes free passage from one sea to another and, consequently, freedom of passage through international canals, the state adjacent to a canal is entitled to have its own sovereignty over the canal respected, as well as to respect for the principle of noninterference in its internal affairs on the part of foreign powers and ships.

The aggregate of sovereign rights, duties and responsibilities of such a state comprises its international (legal) capacity.

Thus, based on the basic principles of contemporary international law, Panama possesses (legal) capacity over the Canal Zone which passes through its national, sovereign territory.

However, in comparison with this standard, the republic's international (legal) capacity has been sharply restricted by the enslaving, inequitable, unlawful treaties of 1903, 1936 and 1955 with the United States, especially on the Canal Zone. On the other hand, these documents have paralyzed Panama's capability, both in the Canal Zone and in a number of other regions of the country. ("Capability" is taken here to mean a state's practical ability to actualize, realize in practice its own (legal) capability associated with the canal and stemming from the basic principles of international law.)

The inescapable elimination of this sort of gap between Panama's legal capability and its practical capability regarding the interoceanic route across

its territory dragged out over many decades, due to the obstacles created by the colonial policy of American imperialism.

Thus, under the 18 November 1903 treaty, the USA received the right to exercise authority in the Canal Zone "as if it were sovereign," and Articles I and VII even recognized the U.S. right to "maintain order" throughout the country. It was only 33 years later that the 22 March 1936 treaty rescinded the two above-mentioned articles, humiliating to Panamanians, and increased somewhat the rent payment to Panama.

After nearly 20 years more, the 25 January 1955 treaty revoked the monopolistic right of the USA to build highways and railroads on the Isthmus of Panama and outlined the return to Panama of a portion of the land in the Canal Zone, as well as increasing the rent payment again.

The Torrijos-Carter treaty was an important step in restoring the sovereign rights of the Panamanian people and broadening its practical capability over the canal.

On the whole, it resolves the problem of linking the rights of Panama with the interests of the USA on the basis of introduction of a new status for the interoceanic canal as a major foreign enterprise located on Panamanian territory and obligated, because of this, to respect the laws of the country of its residence and the rights of that country's citizens. An essential difference between the status of the canal and the status of ordinary enterprises is that the document anticipates that Americans will defend it.

The Panama Canal Treaty consists of 14 major articles and numerous supplements (agreements). Among the supplements are an Agreement on Carrying Out Article III of the treaty (on canal operation and management), an Agreement on Carrying Out Article IV of the treaty (on protection and defense of the canal), a special treaty concerning the permanent neutrality and mode of operation of the canal, and others.

The basic 1977 treaty outlines the annulment of all previous treaties between Panama and the USA on the canal; the elimination of the American colonial enclave, the Canal Zone; abolition of the former administrative-legal U.S. organs operating the canal and managing the Canal Zone -- the Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone administration (Article III, Point 10); the establishment of a firm period of validity for the new treaty -- to 31 December 1999 (Article II).

Elimination of the Canal Zone signifies restoration of complete Panamanian authority as territorial sovereign in the former zone. In recognition of Panama's complete national sovereignty, the republic's flag was raised throughout its territory, including this zone. The U.S. flag remains only on the residence of the new canal management agency, the Panama Canal Commission, and at defense facilities. In the Canal Zone, the republic will begin to establish its jurisdiction -- police, fire, courts -- within 30

months after the treaty is in force. Henceforward, Panamanian criminal law and civil legislation will be in effect in the former zone. Commercial activity not connected with the canal will be carried on only by the Panamanian side.

It is specially stipulated that American servicemen and civil servants will refrain from any sort of political activity or interference in the nation's internal affairs.

After 31 December 1999, the canal and its auxiliary facilities will transfer in full to Panama.

Along with restoring national jurisdiction over the territory of the former Canal Zone, the new treaty recognizes the "primary responsibility" of the United States for management, operation and defense of the canal throughout the entire period of validity of this document, that is, until the end of this century. Within the Panama Canal Commission there will be a supervisory Council, five of whose nine members will be Americans and four will be Panamanian citizens designated by the Panamanian government and approved by Washington. Until 1 January 1990, the post of canal manager will be occupied by an American, then by a Panamanian. The hiring of non-Panamanians will be done only in the absence of suitable Panamanian candidates for job vacancies. "Growing Panamanian participation" in canal management agencies is also outlined.

In the area of wages, labor privileges and various payments, there will be no discrimination because of citizenship, race or sex. Neither will there be so-called "posts requiring particular trustworthiness," which can be occupied only by U.S. citizens.

The treaty sets norms which recognize for workers the right to conclude collective agreements -- Article X, Point 9(a), and for trade unions -- the right to join and associate with international trade-union organizations -- Point 9(b).

Also important and obviously positive for the Panamanians is Article XII, Point 2(b), which states that the USA will not conclude agreements with third-party states on construction of a new canal without the consent of the Panamanian side to that.

Article XII, Point 5 establishes that the United States cannot use nuclear equipment for surface construction work on republic territory without the consent of Panama.

Panama will receive considerably more revenue from operation of the canal -- \$60 million per year, as compared with the \$1.93 million it currently receives. The USA grants the republic considerable credit for housing construction, purchases of military equipment, and so forth.

Whereas before, Panama had given the USA the right to use land and water resources necessary to operation of the canal up to 2000, under the new treaty it returns to itself 70 percent of the land and water areas presently occupied by the United States, as well as the facilities and property thereon (buildings, structures, and so forth). However, although the "Canal Zone" has ceased to exist as a spatial American colonial enclave on republic territory, American civilian and military personnel with broad immunities and privileges remain in it, as in Panama itself.

Panama and the USA will bear joint responsibility for defense of the Panama Canal, and Panamanian participation will be broadened.

The USA must quarter, train and transport troops only in accordance with the provision on American troops in Panama. When the treaty has expired, Panama will receive exclusive right to manage the canal, maintain armed forces and create defense projects throughout its national territory.

However, it is precisely in questions connected with defense of the canal that elements of relations inequitable to Panama are retained. It was for good reason that O. Torrijos declared that the Isthmus of Panama would remain "under the Pentagon defense umbrella."³¹

A military organ consisting of representatives of both countries -- the unified council -- is being created on a parity basis for the joint protection and defense of the canal. And, as was noted, for as long as the treaty remains in force the USA will bear "primary responsibility" for the protection and defense of the canal. The Agreement on Carrying Out Article IV of the basic treaty outlines Panama's granting the United States so-called "defense regions" (five in all) and the creation of numerous "military coordination regions" for combined action by the armed forces of Panama and the USA. In the new treaty, Washington succeeded in gaining the right for U.S. troops to stay on Panamanian territory in peacetime until 2000. None of the preceding Panamanian-American treaties granted the United States that right. The presence of U.S. armed forces in Panama and the location of 14 American bases there are consequences of unilateral actions by Washington.

The 1977 treaty provisions on protection and defense of the canal (foremost the Agreement on Carrying Out Article IV of the Panama Canal Treaty) contain a detailed elaboration of the rights and obligations of American personnel and the U.S. government on maintaining and using Panamanian territory occupied by military bases, that is, the principles contained in agreements between the USA and other states on renting territory used for American military bases. However, in view of the "special" nature of Panamanian-American relations, which is associated with the presence of an interoceanic canal on Panamanian territory, the 1977 treaty as it relates to questions of canal defense differs substantially from ordinary agreements of this kind. First of all, the USA does not pay rent for use of the Panamanian territory occupied by its bases. Moreover, the USA, under an agreement with Panama concerning American activity not connected directly with the canal (this

agreement is an integral part of the Panama Canal Treaty), has the right, after the document is in force, to continue training the servicemen of Latin American armies on Panamanian territory in special military institutions of the "School of the Americas" type for at least five years, if there is no agreement on extending such activity for a longer period. The question of whether the U.S. Southern Command on Panamanian territory is to be eliminated is also unclear. Mention of the fact that its radio station is being preserved there in connection with Washington's military missions in Central and South American countries might be interpreted by the USA as sanction for the continued presence of the Panama command.

The U.S. military presence in the republic must formally end upon expiration of the treaty (31 December 1999). However, Article IV of the Treaty on the Permanent Neutrality and Mode of Operation of the Canal is viewed by Washington as granting it the right to unilateral action for the purpose of ensuring neutrality.³² Consequently, the USA can continue using its armed forces after 2000. The above-mentioned principle of noninterference by the USA and its citizens in the internal affairs of Panama can also be viewed in the same foreshortened way. If consideration is given to the fact that the Canal Zone by any name must have disappeared entirely after 2000, then the United States' taking unilateral steps "to ensure the canal's neutrality" could automatically lead to interference in Panamanian affairs and to violation of its sovereignty.

The Agreement on Permanent Neutrality and Mode of Operation of the Canal gives ships of all nations the opportunity to use it in both peacetime and wartime on an equal, nondiscriminatory basis (Article III). However, the agreement also outlines the right of American military ships to quick, absolutely unconditional passage through the canal (Article VI), which in actuality contradicts the above-mentioned article.

The canal's neutrality is guaranteed not by the United Nations Organization, but only by Panama and the USA (essentially, by the USA alone), which diminishes the effectiveness of the neutrality procedure (for example, when the USA takes part in military operations). In order to soften somewhat this negative aspect, the treaty is supplemented by a Protocol (whose depositary will be the Organization of African States) which calls on all the world's states to subscribe to the document, the intended purposes of which is to ensure multilateral guarantees of the procedures for neutrality of the Panama Canal.

American employees presently working in the Canal Zone can remain in the service of the U.S. government and continue to enjoy extensive rights, benefits and privileges. In particular, Article VIII of the Panama Canal Treaty and a number of other norms anticipate broad immunity for American organizations and persons.

The list of rights and benefits for American civilian and military personnel in Panama is so extensive that the impression is created that the reference is to some sort of privileged citizens of that country, and the list of

places with American personnel is so long and diverse that it reads like a Panamanian atlas.

Let us note, in particular, that Article X of the Agreement on Carrying Out Article III of the treaty retains for the USA the right to use such telecommunications, radio, and so forth, "as are necessary to the management of the canal." And these facilities, whose use by foreigners is not permitted on the territory of any sovereign state, will not be transferred to Panama for another 22 years.

Under Article XII of the above-mentioned agreement, the USA can bring into and take out of the republic its own civilian personnel and dependants "in unlimited numbers," but Panama is obligated to give its permission quickly and guarantee it. Under Article XIV, the USA can use ships, aircraft and other transport in the canal area at its own discretion.

Articles XV and XVI indicate that members of the Panama Canal Commission and their dependants are almost completely free of any Panamanian tax obligation.

Although Article XIX proclaims the extension of Panamanian criminal jurisdiction to American citizens who have committed crimes, this is reduced to naught by the reservation on the benevolent attitude of the Panamanian authorities and the rejection of their own criminal jurisdiction in favor of U.S. authorities, in particular if an American's crime has been committed "in the performance of official duties" -- Point 2(a).

It is well-known that this kind of formula is widely used within NATO, ensuring the impunity of American servicemen who have committed criminal or civil offenses (destruction of property, nonpayment of debts, evasion of alimony payments, and so on) in the countries in which they are staying. Hooliganism, robbery, larceny, assault, seduction of minors, smuggling, drug running -- these are the concomitants of the impunity covered by this formula. It is known that the American military authorities abroad willingly make adjustments so that the crime was "in the performance of official duties," interpreting this concept broadly, since the very presence of a serviceman in another country is already viewed by them as being on duty, even when that person is on his day off and is amusing himself.³³ It is not without interest that even civilian employees of the USA can carry personal arms (Article XX, Point 2).

The imperfect nature of the new treaty is fully recognized by the Panamanian side. However, the government and a significant majority of the Panamanian population³⁴ understand that, at the present stage, under conditions of today's relationship of forces in the United States, when American reaction has come out resolutely for Washington's retaining control over the Panama Canal, this document is, although not the best, at least a mutually acceptable temporary solution to an acute problem. "These are not the best agreements, and not what the Panamanian people hoped for," emphasized General O. Torrijos in an interview with an American magazine, "but at this particular

time it is the best version, the best bargain, the best answer.... We have learned one thing: if you want too much, you might get nothing."³⁵

In spite of the enumerated shortcomings of the new Panama Canal Treaty, this document as a whole should be evaluated as an important achievement by Panamanian patriots in the long and difficult struggle to eliminate a colonial enclave in the heart of their homeland. It consists first of all in the fact that the people of this small country have secured from U.S. imperialists the transfer of sovereignty over the Canal Zone to it and the fixing of a firm date for their final departure from Panamanian territory. It was for good reason that Ruben Dario Souza, General Secretary of the People's Party of Panama, judged the new treaty to be "the beginning of the end of imperialist occupation" in one of his speeches. "...Winning decolonization," he emphasized, "is a legal victory for the Panamanian people, the anti-imperialist forces of Panama, the progressive and peace-loving forces of the planet, and a personal victory for the patriotic firmness of General Torrijos, who was able to correctly and honestly interpret the lawful stivings of his own people."³⁶ At the same time, the leader of the Panamanian communists emphasized: "...Our party is promoting the slogan 'The Struggle Continues'. It is with this very slogan that we greet the new agreements."³⁷

This slogan has urgent significance in connection with the fact that much depends not only on the letter of these agreements, but also on their practical application. The degree of Panamanian legal capability achieved in the canal area must be further supplemented by its practical capability, by actual implementation of the treaty's provisions. Its enemies -- American reaction and militarism -- will strive to deaden this system of agreements as well, transforming it into a juridical postulate with no real substance. The forces of national liberation and progress are still faced with overcoming the resistance of American reaction, which operate under the slogan "there is no Panama Canal, but an American canal in Panama."

Thus, resolution of the question of restoring Panama's rights in the Canal Zone as quickly as possible, like resolution of the broader question of full restoration of the republic's rights in the canal, will depend on many factors, among which are the resolve of the Panamanian people to continue and intensify the anti-imperialist struggle, the firmness of its government, public opinion in Latin American countries and throughout the world, U.N. support, and a number of other factors determining the balance of the forces of peace and progress over the forces of reaction and war.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Panama Canal Treaty (or the Torrijos-Carter Treaty) is the common name for a whole series of agreements which includes the Panama Canal Treaty proper (the basic agreement), supplemental agreements with detailed elaboration of certain articles of the basic agreement (namely Articles III and IV), the Treaty on Permanent Neutrality and Mode of Operation of the Panama Canal, the Protocol to the Treaty on Permanent Neutrality and Mode of Operation of the Panama Canal, and several appendices.

2. This treaty, signed 18 November 1903 -- 15 days after the Republic of Panama proclaimed independence -- by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay and the Panamanian Ambassador to Washington, F. Buno-Varilli, granted to the United States "in perpetuity" exclusive rights to a portion of Panamanian territory (later called the Canal Zone) for the purpose of "building, maintaining, operating, putting in sanitary condition and defending" an interoceanic route. The 1936 and 1955 treaties concluded by Panama and the USA did not substantially change American "rights" in the Canal Zone. -- See S. A. Gonionskiy, "Istoriya panamskoy 'revoljutsii'" [History of the Panamanian "Revolution"], Moscow, 1958; Vicente Sayens, "Problemy mezhokeanskikh putey amerikanskogo kontinenta" [Problems of Interoceanic Routes of the American Continent], Moscow, 1959.
3. "Status Juridico de los Tratados del Canal de Panama. 1903-1963," Panama, 1964, p 293.
4. D. Flood, "Isthmian Canal Policy Questions," Washington, 1966, pp 449-450.
5. THE NEW YORK TIMES, 19 December 1964.
6. Ruben D. Souza, Ceasar A. de Leon, Hugo Victor, Carlos F. Changmarin, "Panama. 1903-1970" [Panama. 1903-1970], Moscow, 1974, p 111.
7. Quoted from ERCILLA, Santiago, No 1698, 1968, p 24.
8. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, Washington, Vol 68, No 2, 1967, p 41.
9. "Por la unidad de todas las fuerzas antioligarquicas y antiimperialistas. Pleno del Comite Central. Partido del Pueblo de Panama, Julio 1973," Panama, 1974, p 10.
10. "Documentos Basicos de la Politica Exterior del Gobierno Revolucionario. Resumen documental," Panama, 1971, p 42.
11. J. Tack, "Memoria que Presenta al Consejo de Gabinete Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores," Panama, 1971, pp 91-92.
12. "U.S. Congress. House. Panama Canal. 1971. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Interamerican Affairs. House of Representatives. Ninety-Second Congress. September 22 and 23, 1971," Washington, 1971, p 19.
13. Ibid, pp 11, 81.
14. ESTRELLA DE PANAMA, Panama, 18 November 1972.
15. PANAMA TRIBUNE, Panama, 27 May 1972.
16. "Organizatsiya Ob'yedinennykh Natsiy. Sovet Bezopasnosti" [United Nations Organization. Security Council], S/PV 1700, 19 March 1973, p 81.

17. "Organizatsiya Ob'yedinennykh Natsiy. Sovet Bezopasnosti," S/10931/ Rev. 1. 20 March 1973.
18. NEWSWEEK, New York, 2 April 1973, p 16.
19. "Por la unidad de todas las fuerzas...," p 20.
20. THE WASHINGTON POST, 29 March 1973.
21. DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, Washington, No 1771, 1973, p 782.
22. DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, No 1809, 1974, pp 184-185.
23. OIGA, Lima, No 558, 1974, p 15.
24. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Washington, 11 April 1974, No 53, p S5802.
25. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 22 May 1975, No 83, p S9067.
26. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 26 June 1975, No 103, p H6226.
27. GRANMA, La Habana, 7 April 1976.
28. MEZHDUNARODNAYA POLITIKA, Belgrad, No 634, 1976, p 28.
29. IZVESTIYA, 19 December 1976.
30. "Tratado del Canal de Panama (Torrijos-Carter). 7 de septiembre de 1977"
31. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, Vol 83, No 12, 1977, p 21.
32. It is clear from the text of this article that the USA will not be able to undertake action to ensure canal neutrality without the consent of Panama to that. However, some American legislators demanded, in the course of discussion of the treaty in the Congress, guarantees of unilateral U.S. action and got a Carter-Torrijos meeting in Washington in October 1977, at which the American President insisted on the Congressmen's interpretation of Article IV. Thus, even after the new treaty was signed, there were disagreements on the interpretation of several of its articles.
33. For more detail, see: M. I. Lazarev, "Prestupleniya amerikanskikh voyennosluzhashchikh na chuzhikh territoriyakh" [Crimes of American Servicemen on Foreign Territory], Moscow, 1961.
34. Approximately 66 percent of the Panamanians who participated in the October 1977 referendum supported the new Panama Canal Treaty.
35. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, Vol 83, No 12, 1977, p 20.

36. Ruben Dario Souza, "El principio del fin de la ocupacion imperialista,"
Panama, 1977, p 35.

27. Ibid. p 36.

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SIBERIAN WATER DIVERSION DISCUSSED IN UZBEKISTAN

Conference Opens, Rashidov Participates

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Apr 78 p 1

[Text] On 27 April, the scientific conference on "Problems of Diverting Part of the Drainage of Siberian Rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan, in the Light of Decisions Made by the 25th CPSU Congress" convened in Tashkent. It was organized by a council consisting of the presidents of the Central Asian republics' academies of sciences, the Institute of Water Problems of the AN SSSR [USSR Academy of Sciences], the AN SSSR's Scientific Council on the Problem "Allocation of the USSR's Productive Forces," and the Central Asian Division of VASKhNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin].

Representatives of many scientific research and planning organizations and workers from Party and Soviet agencies, ministries and departments are participating in the conference. Its goal is the exchange of information and results of scientific research and preliminary surveying work on the urgent problems of diverting part of the drainage of Siberian rivers, as well as the development of recommendations for completing the technical and economic justification of such a diversion.

Sh.R. Rashidov, alternate member of the CC CPSU's Politburo and first secretary of the CC CP of Uzbekistan, and distinguished scientists from throughout the country composed the presidium of the conference.

The conference was opened by Academician A.S. Sadykov, president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences.

Those who presented reports, and their subjects, were: AN SSSR Corresponding Member G.V. Voropayev, director of the Institute of Water Problems -- scientific research related to the problem

of diverting part of the drainage of Siberian rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan; Chief Project Engineer I.A. Gerardi -- fundamental propositions of the plan for diverting part of the flow of Siberian rivers; Academician A.G. Aganbegyan, director of the AN SSSR's Institute of the Economics and Organization of Industrial Production -- socioeconomic problems of the inter-regional redistribution of Siberia's water resources; S.K. Ziyadullayev, academician of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Central Asian Commission for the Study of Problems of the AN SSSR's Scientific Council -- the development of productive forces and the problems of water supply in Central Asia; A.A. Bostanzhoglo, deputy director of the AN SSSR's Institute of Water Problems -- participation of the scientific organizations of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in justifying the redistribution of the drainage of Siberian rivers; Doctor of Economic Sciences G.V. Kopanev, chief of the council section for the study of productive forces, USSR Gospan -- socio-economic aspects of the investigations related to the diversion of part of the flow of Siberian rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan; S.K. Kamalov, corresponding member of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the presidium of that organization's Karakalpakska ASSR's branch -- the problem of the Aral Sea; K.A. Rakitin, department chief, Sredazgiprovodkhlopok [Central Asian State Institute for the Planning of Irrigation Structures and Rural Electric Power Plants] -- distribution of water resources in Central Asia and Kazakhstan and the effectiveness of their utilization.

Tashkent Conference Ends

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 30 Apr 78 p 1

[Text] The work of the scientific conference on "Problems of Diverting Part of the Drainage of Siberian Rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan, in the Light of Decisions Made by the 25th CPSU Congress," which has been meeting in Tashkent, has been completed. About 300 scientists and specialists, representing scientific research and planning institutes, ministries, and departments of the fraternal Central Asian republics and the country's corresponding central establishments participated in the conference.

The reports given at the conference discussed the directions of scientific investigations into the problem of diverting the water, the fundamental propositions of the project, the importance of diverting Siberian water for the growth of productive forces and socioeconomic development in the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, and methods for the rational use and the

improvement of the efficient utilization of the water resources that are available here.

In a conversation with an UzTAG [Uzbek News Agency] correspondent, AN SSSR Corresponding Member G.V. Voropayev, director of the AN SSSR's Institute of Water Problems, said, "More than 100 scientific and planning organizations are now working on the problems related to the diversion of part of the drainage of Siberian rivers into the Aral basin. Such increased attention is only natural, since these are problems posed by life itself. The republics in the Central Asian region are undergoing intensive development, which is unavoidably related to an increase in water consumption. It has been calculated that it will about double by the end of the century. At the same time, the intrinsic water resources of Central Asia and Southern Kazakhstan are limited. The natural solution is a territorial redistribution of water flows."

To date, the basic propositions of the technical and economic justification for the diversion of part of the drainage of Siberian rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan have been worked out, the scientist noted. Several variants have been studied. As a result, the one that is most advantageous with respect to time and cost of implementation has been selected and adopted for further development. This is the so-called "Turgayskaya" version, in which water from the Ob' and Irtysh Rivers is diverted to the Aral basin across the Turgayskaya Steppe in Kazakhstan. The fundamental propositions of the future project have been determined. It has been established by scientists that the implementation of this project (or at least its first stage) will not have any substantial effect on conditions in the Arctic Ocean, as was previously feared, or cause a change in climate in the diversion zone. Many questions of a most diversified nature -- geographical, biological, socioeconomic -- still remain to be answered. As was discussed at the conference, the present goal is to increase the intensity of the research and all development work for the integrated program so that the technical and economic justification for diversion by the Turgayskaya plan will be completed as soon as possible and the preparatory work on the canal can be begun during the next five-year plan.

The conference made recommendations that are aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the investigations and accelerating exploratory developments in the problems of diverting part of the drainage of Siberian rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Water Needed for Uzbek, Turkmen Development

Tashkent KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA in Russian No 4, 1978 signed to press
22 Mar 78 pp 42-51

[Text] Under conditions of scientific and technical progress, deepening of the public division of labor, and the complication of interregional economic relationships, one of the most important factors for improving the efficiency of the national economy is the rational allocation of productive forces through the creation and development of territorial production complexes (TPK's). They have been called upon to facilitate the implementation of the Party's long-term policy in the area of economics. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CC CPSU, noted in his report to the 25th CPSU Congress, this policy primarily entails "the concentration of forces and resources for the fulfillment of the most important Statewide programs, a more skillful combination of branch and territorial development and current and prospective problems, and the guaranteeing of a balanced nature for the economy." In the decisions of the congress it is emphasized that further improvement in the allocation of productive forces should provide for the fuller and faster exploitation of natural riches and an increase in the economic potential of the eastern parts of the country, including the Uzbek SSR.

The republics of Central Asia already have experience in forming TPK's. It is sufficient to recall the work done on the creation and development of the Tashkent-Chirchik industrial region, the Angren-Almalyk and Bukhara-Navoi TPK's in the Uzbek SSR, the Southern Tadzhik TPK, and others.

In the territorial system for the organization of the Central Asian economic region's productive forces, an important place is occupied by the large interrepublic TPK's that are being formed, among which the Lower Amudar'ya complex is counted. A scientific and economic analysis that was carried out by the collective of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences' Council for the Study of Productive Resources (SOPS) shows that this is a very promising region. It includes the Karakalpak ASSR, Khozrasmkaya Oblast in the Uzbek SSR, and Tashauzskaya Oblast in the Turkmen SSR.

As far as territory, role and place in the Unionwide division of labor, nature and trends in the use of land, water, mineral raw material, fuel and energy, and other natural resources, the presence of common power and irrigation systems, transportation and other conditions, and the problems of the development of productive forces are all concerned, the component parts of the

lower reaches of the Amudar'ya River represent a unified economic complex. Consequently, this region should be developed on the basis of scientific prediction according to an integrated, interrelated long-term program that provides for the concentration of forces and resources throughout its entire territory.

Under the guidance of the decisions made by the 25th CPSU Congress and the 19th CP of Uzbekistan Congress, the Uzbek Academy of Sciences' COPS and its Karakalpak ASSR branch, with extensive participation on the part of the republic's scientific research institutes and planning organizations, investigated the present state of the natural and labor resources on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya and worked out ways for their integrated utilization in the future accelerated development of this region's productive forces and the enlargement of its contribution to the creation of communism's material and technical base.

We should remember that for many years this was the most backward region within the boundaries of modern Uzbekistan, where the relationships were not even feudal, but patriarchal, a natural economy prevailed, and poverty and universal illiteracy were dominant. It was only after the Great October Socialist Revolution that radical political, economic and social changes took place here, under the leadership of the Communist Party. During the years of Soviet power, notable successes have been achieved in all branches of the economy, modern industry and large-scale mechanized agriculture have been created, and science and culture have developed.

In the last few decades, the constant and pervasive assistance of the CC CPSU and the Soviet government helped in the solution of a number of large problems and has made it possible to accelerate the development of this region's economy. For instance, for a long time this region's isolation from the rest of the country was a serious hindrance to progress on the part of its productive forces. There were neither highways nor railroads. Basically, freight was transported on the Amudar'ya River. Taking this into consideration, the Soviet government decided to build the Chardzhou-Kungrad railroad, which went into operation in 1960. In 1970, traffic started moving on the Kungrad-Makat line. Then the Takhiatash-Nukus link, which joined the right and left banks of the Amudar'ya, was opened up. This line will be continued to Chimbay and Takhtakupyr, which is a very important factor for the development of the region's economy.

This was paralleled by highway construction. As a result, the extent of the hard-surfaced highways in the Karakalpak ASSR and

Khorezmkaya Oblast increased from 825 kilometers in 1965 to 2,893 kilometers in 1976.

The opening of the Chardzhou-Kungrad-Makat trunk railroad line was a most important event: first, it began to stimulate the accelerated development of the productive forces on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya; secondly, Central Asia received yet another transportation link to the central regions of the USSR.

As is known, from ancient times the basis of agriculture in this part of our country was irrigation. Therefore, in this region the years of Soviet power have seen the implementation of a complex of measures for creating canals, collectors, and hydraulic engineering and engineering structures that have contributed to the expansion of irrigation agriculture, an improvement in water availability, and an increase in the production of cotton, rice and other agricultural products. For instance, the construction of the Dar'yalykskiy and Ozernyy collectors radically improved the reclamation state of the lands and reduced their degree of salinization. The completion of the Takhiatashskiy hydraulic engineering complex on the Amudar'ya -- the largest in Central Asia -- created conditions for a stable water intake and stabilization of the water supply for the surrounding regions. Right now, construction is proceeding on the Tuyamuyunskiy hydraulic power complex and reservoir, which will be the largest in the country. This unique project will not only make it possible to increase the water supply of existing irrigated areas, but also to develop a massive area of new land.

Agriculture is developing without interruption on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya, where there is a large region for the production of cotton and rice. In 1975, 16 percent of the raw cotton and 78.3 percent of the rice produced in the Uzbek SSR came from this area, and the harvests of these crops are continually growing. For example, 612,000 tons of raw cotton were gathered in the Karakalpak ASSR and Khorezmkaya Oblast in 1965, while the figure for 1977 was 843,000 tons. The corresponding figures for rice are 43,400 and 260,000 tons. This is a 38 percent increase in cotton production and a 500 percent increase for rice.

Geological exploration work on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya was expanded in recent years. The reserves of mineral raw material resources that have been discovered open new possibilities for accelerating the rates of development of productive forces.

A power base has been created here: the Takhiatashskaya TES was built and the region was connected to the Unified Power

System of Central Asia, which provides a stable power supply for all branches of the national economy. In 1976, 2.2 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity were generated in the Karakalpak ASSR and Khorezmskaya Oblast, as opposed to 0.3 billion in 1965.

The Bukhara-Urals trunk gas pipeline, which crosses the entire territory of the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya, plus the significant reserves of natural gas that have been discovered in the Ustyurt region, have contributed to the strengthening of this area's fuel base.

The construction materials industry, which is primarily based on local raw material resources, is being developed at a rapid rate in this region. For example, although only 49,000 cubic meters of reinforced concrete articles were produced in the Karakalpak ASSR and Khorezmskaya Oblast in 1965, in 1976 this figure had increased to more than 140,000 cubic meters.

Light industry and the food industry are developing on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya on the basis of the utilization and processing of agricultural and mineral raw materials.

Before the October Revolution there was actually no plant- or factory-type industry in this region, if we ignore the 31 primitive enterprises -- cotton-cleaning and oil-and-soap plants of the semidomestic type -- that had a total of 423 workers. Now, however, there are more than 300 industrial enterprises (including 130 large ones) at which tens of thousands of people work. In 1924 only 3,600 tons of cotton fiber were produced in the Karakalpak ASSR and Khorezmskaya Oblast, but in 1976 this figure was raised to 258,900 tons. This is a gigantic leap for the cotton-cleaning industry, which is the main branch of industry in this region.

General-education schools, tekhnikums, institutes, and vocational and technical schools are preparing people for all branches of the national economy in ever increasing numbers. For example, 158,500 people studied in the general-education schools of the Karakalpak ASSR and Khorezmskaya Oblast during the 1940-41 school year, but in 1976-77 the total number of students in them had increased to 435,400. Nukus State University opened its doors in 1977.

As is obvious from this brief summary, on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya we have created the most important material and technical prerequisites for the future powerful development of productive forces. Moreover, because of its natural and labor resources and productive capabilities, this region has now become one of the most promising ones in the Uzbek SSR.

However, in order to realize these potential capabilities, it is necessary to solve a number of large and complicated problems.

One of the specific features of this region is its good supply of labor resources. In its territory, which constitutes almost 20 percent of Central Asia, there now live 1.8 million people, including 1.538 million in the territory belonging to Uzbekistan. At the same time, the population -- and, correspondingly, the labor resources -- is growing rapidly: while the average annual population increase in the USSR as a whole is 0.9 percent, in the Uzbek SSR it is 2.7 percent and on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya it is 3.4 percent. According to preliminary calculations, in the long run the average annual population increase in this region will be maintained at 3 percent, while the labor resources will increase even more rapidly.

Such high population growth rates create favorable prerequisites for accelerated development of the national economy. At the same time, they cause a number of complex problems of a socioeconomic nature, such as the problem of providing a higher employment rate. In the future this will require accelerated rates of development of public production. It is necessary to create a better employment structure through a sharp increase in the absolute number of workers and the employment of an increasing percentage of them in industrial branches and the field of services.

The scientific forecast of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences' SOPS showed that in the future, the rate of increase in the number of working positions in industry and the nonproductive sphere must be considerably higher on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya than the average for the republic. In connection with this it is necessary to keep in mind that the planned redistribution of labor resources will be complicated if decisive measures are not taken to intensify the training of qualified workers and engineering and technical personnel. Consequently, a mandatory and continuing part of the entire complex of problems related to the development of this region's productive forces must also be the problem of training personnel. It can be solved by expanding the network of professional and technical schools in the region and creating branches of the Tashkent higher and secondary special educational institutions, as well as by increasing the number of workers sent here after completing their professional and technical school training, plus specialists with secondary special and higher educations who were trained in other oblasts in the republic and in Tashkent.

What are the potential possibilities for accelerating the industrial growth rate in this region?

Thanks to geological prospecting -- particularly that done during the last 15 years -- more than 220 deposits and shows of different types of useful minerals have been discovered. The best studied of these are extractable chemical raw materials (sulfate and magnesium ores, common salt and talc), raw materials for the production of construction materials (limestone, marl, loam, clayey gypsum, building stone, and so on), and natural gas. The deposits with significant predicted reserves of iron ores, nonferrous and rare metals, quartzite, raw material for abrasive materials, semiprecious jewels, and others have not yet been thoroughly studied. There are definite prospects for discovering new natural gas and oil fields.

The presence of such diversified mineral raw material resources and agricultural raw material, in combination with this region's good labor supply, makes it possible to achieve a great increase in the industrial production growth rate and change its structure radically. In the future, it is anticipated that the latter will occur because of an increase in the share of heavy industry -- machine building, chemicals, power engineering, and construction materials -- as well as expansion of the branches that provide full primary processing of the agricultural raw material produced in the region and the creation of a complex of textile, light and food industry enterprises to satisfy the needs of the population in the area.

Based on the Barsakel'mes sodium chloride deposit, it is feasible to organize a business with a capacity of 1-1.5 million tons, with shipment of part of its production to other regions of the country, while the Kushkanatauskoye sulfate salt deposit should be the basis of a chemical-metallurgical enterprise for the production of magnesium and organic-chloride alcohol products. Technical and economic indicators also confirm the profitability of extracting talc from the Zarel'bulakskoye deposit.

Large raw material reserves for the construction material industry have been found on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya. This includes limestone and marl for the production of cement, bentonite, building stone, road metal, and sand and gravel, which are now shipped here in significant quantities from other parts of the country. There are good possibilities for increasing the quarrying of marble and granite with unique colors from the Aktau and Tebinbulak deposits in the Sultanuvays Mountains, where there are already small quarries in operation. Therefore, it is necessary to define the reserves of industrial-type raw materials more precisely, be detailed surveying. The number of prospective useful minerals also includes Sultanuvays titanium and magnetic iron ores that are suitable for producing spongy iron by progressive noncooking metallurgy, which yields

rare and trace elements and construction materials (road metal and sand from the stripped rock) as by-products.

In this region, there can be extensive development of the chemical industry for production of complex fertilizers and paint and varnish materials, as well as articles for domestic chemical use and rubber footwear. Considering the poor fodder base on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya, it is also necessary to set up an enterprise for the production of protein-vitamin concentrates.

The further industrialization of this region's agriculture requires strengthening of the metal repair base and the organization of production of agricultural machinery and irrigation materiel, as well as equipment and instruments for the cotton-cleaning industry. In this respect it would be advisable to stipulate the creation here of large machine-building enterprises and repair plants.

In this area there are huge possibilities for expanding the production of goods for popular consumption. In order to do this, it is necessary that the Khiva carpet combine, which went into operation in 1977, achieve its full capacity more quickly and that its second stage be built, while at the same time the construction of the Nukus textile combine must be hurried up. The large problems of balanced development of other branches of the agricultural-industrial complex should be solved, and a number of cotton-cleaning, silk-winding, wool, silk, knitted fabric, and footwear enterprises should be constructed.

The Urgench fat and oil combine, which is the largest in Uzbekistan and is equipped with modern machinery, went into operation in 1977. As a result, this region's cottonseed processing capacity was almost tripled and the production of cottonseed oil has quintupled. The existence of agricultural raw material stimulates the further development of the rice-cleaning, fat-and-oil, meat, canning, and other branches of the food industry. Some of them already have technical and economic substantiation, with specified construction projects, production scopes and allocations, and the necessary capital investments (with recoverability evaluations). Along with this, planning developments should be speeded up and included in the prospective plans.

It is necessary to develop local industry more rapidly, on the basis of intrinsic raw material resources and secondary raw materials. This should be done by enterprises producing porcelain goods, artistic ceramics, carpets, palasy [translation unknown], furniture, other domestic economic goods, and construction materials. It is advisable to situate them in the

industrial regions and complexes, which include the already formed Nukus-Khodzheyli, Urgench and Khiva complexes and the future Sultanuvayskiy, Chimbay and Kungrad complexes, among others.

There is no doubt that progress in all branches of the national economy is possible when there is further extensive development of power engineering, which will make it necessary to build a large new electric power station in this region.

The implementation of the measures listed above is aimed at converting the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya into an industrial and agrarian region and will promote the equalization of the levels of economic development in the different regions of Uzbekistan.

On the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya there are significant possibilities for increasing agricultural production. However, a number of large problems must be solved before this can be realized. For instance, in the Unionwide division of labor this region plays an important role as a producer of raw cotton, rice and astrakhan fur. The scientific forecast shows that in the future it can not only maintain, but substantially increase the output of these products.

In the future, the region's agriculture will undoubtedly be raised to a new level. All the prerequisites for this are present: continual retooling, integrated mechanization and chemization, and its conversion into a branch with large-scale mechanized production that is based on progressive agricultural technology and progressive forms of organization utilizing the advantages of specialization and concentration. In time these measures will create the conditions for increasing the effectiveness of agricultural production.

Cotton-growing in this region should be developed by increasing crop yields, which can be accomplished by the timely implementation of agrotechnical and land reclamation measures, the introduction of new high-yield and fast-growing varieties of cotton, and the development of new irrigated lands.

In the future there should also be a significant change in the structure of the crop areas, with due consideration for the need for rapid food crop -- vegetables, melons, fruits, and grapes -- growth rates. It is a well-known fact that for a number of years the level at which they have been produced for the population of the Karakalpak ASSR and Khorezmskaya Oblast is considerably lower than the average for the republic. Therefore, it is advisable to increase the production of these

foodstuffs, to organize large and specialized vegetable and dairy farms near large cities, and to create suburban vegetable and dairy zones in combination with extensive development of gardening and viticulture.

Livestock-raising can be developed more rapidly as part of the region's agricultural complex. In order to do this, it is necessary to implement the following measures:

increase fodder production by several hundred percent by including enlarged areas for fodder crops in the planned system of cotton, rice, vegetable, and special crop rotation, as well as by improving the yield of these crops;

improve the varietal composition of milk and meat cattle herds and their maintenance and feeding practices;

allocate the needed amount of land in the Amudar'ya delta for a special livestock-raising complex, furnishing it with water discharged from the rice-growing zone and the water that is now uselessly lost in the Sarykamyshskaya basin.

Providing that measures for the intensification of pasture management -- flooding and the use of all available pasture territory (including Ustyurt), the introduction of an enclosure system for the pasturing of cattle, land reclamation by the planting and additional sowing of wild flora -- are instituted, the fodder-growing capacity of pastures can be increased by several hundred percent. The accomplishment of this will create the conditions for a significant increase in the number of karakul sheep and an increase in the output of high-quality astrakhan lambs. In order to realize these possibilities, it is necessary to carry out construction and assembly work related to flooding, the introduction of an enclosure system, and the creation of engineering communications. At the same time, it is also necessary to expand scientific research on the complex exploitation of Ustyurt and other large pasture areas.

The potentials of this region for the powerful development of agriculture are truly huge. On the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya there are 3 million hectares of land suitable for crops of which only 430,000 hectares are under irrigation, while the rest has lain empty for many centuries. Of the 10 million hectares of pasture that are suitable for sheep-raising, less than 5 million are being used. In order to enlist these additional resources in the agricultural cycle, as well as intensify production and improve the quality of agriculture on lands that have long been used, it is necessary to solve such large problems of Statewide importance as the rational utilization and conservation of natural resources and -- primarily -- the water supply problem.

A complex of systematic measures aimed at protecting the environment must be an organically interrelated element of the process of productive force development on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya. This is caused by the fact that the intensive mutual effect of man and nature on each other is manifested most clearly in this region. As has already been stated, one of the factors in lifting this area's economy is the development of irrigation agriculture and livestock-raising, which are inextricably related to a continuous increase in water consumption. Consequently, we have the problem of supplying it for the entire region while preserving and reproducing our fish, flora and fauna resources, and are also faced with the future creation of a number of water-intensive branches of industry.

The acuteness of the problem is related to the continual expansion of water retention in the upper reaches of the Amudar'ya and Syrdar'ya in order to open new lands, which means a reduction of its discharge into the Aral Sea. As a result, the water level in the Aral Sea has been gradually dropping since 1961. This negative factor has led to substantial ecological changes in the Amudar'ya delta. Above all, there has been a noticeable deterioration in the conditions for fish reproduction, as the result of which fish catches along the southern coast of the Aral Sea have dropped by more than two-thirds, which in turn has negatively affected the work of the Muynak fish-canning combine (the only one in Central Asia), which is using less than half its capacity at the present time. The lowering of the Aral's level also led to a lessening of navigation on it and a curtailment of muskrat-farming and fur-farming. According to data provided by the Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers, annual income in Muynakskiy Rayon has dropped considerably. The recession of the shore as the result of shrinkage of the sea's water area forced the reconstruction of shore structures here, including port facilities.

The biological sphere in the river deltas and the pastures surrounding the sea has changed substantially. Drying up of the delta led to the replacement of tugaic and oasis biological complexes with desert complexes, the productivity of which is much lower. As a result there has been a sharp reduction in the reserves of reeds and other fodder crops, and this has had a negative effect on livestock-raising.

According to the conclusions of workers at the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Geology's Uzbekgidrogeologiya scientific production association, the drop in the level of the Aral Sea is causing the ground water level to drop and affecting the degree of soil mineralization. In turn, workers at the Karakalpak meteorological station reached the conclusion that the significant decrease in

the sea's water area can affect the climate of the area around it, which is known as the Priaral'ye. Finally, in the future the drop in the Sea of Aral's water level will be negatively reflected in the industrial development of this region, since it will not be possible to build water-intensive production facilities for the chemical, mining and several other branches.

This shows the extreme importance of maintaining the optimally necessary level of the Aral Sea, both in general and particularly as it affects the contemplated development of productive forces on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya. At the present time there is no unified opinion on the complete circle of measures that should be instituted in order to stabilize the Aral's level. However, there is unanimous support for the viewpoint that this should be done primarily through more economic use of the basin's intrinsic resources, as well as by diverting part of the drainage of Siberian rivers to this area.

At the present time, the development of this region's national economy is straining the water balance to the utmost. Alleviation of the stress placed on it by agriculture can be facilitated by -- in addition to careful consumption -- elimination of water losses that are the result of imperfect irrigation systems and flooding equipment and methods.

According to the preliminary plans of the water management organizations, the irrigated land area in this region can be enlarged significantly by reorganizing the intrafarm irrigation network. In order to do this, it is necessary to develop an irrigation and land reclamation program with substantiated methods, projects, dates and sequences of capital investments and material and technical support, so that the program can be implemented in the near future.

It is very important that this reorganization be carried out over the entire territory of the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya, which is a unified irrigation region. In this respect, a certain fact is worthy of attention. At the present time, the entire runoff of drainage waters from the left bank of the Amudar'ya -- up to 3 cubic kilometers per year -- passes through the Ozernyy and Dar'yalykskiy collectors into the Sarykamyshskiy basin, where a lake 300 kilometers long and 60 kilometers wide (as large as Lake Issyk-Kul') has formed among limitless sand and saline earth. The water that accumulates there then evaporates.

Thus, on the one hand we have the lowering of the Aral Sea's level, which inflicts great economic harm on the region, and on the other we have the appearance of a great lake in the desert,

where the water is of use to no one. Meanwhile, work done on clearing and restoring the natural channels of the Amudar'ya, as well as supplying the lands in its delta with drainage water from the Ozernyy, Dar'yalykskiy and other collectors would make it possible to create there high-quality pastures totaling hundreds of thousands of hectares and to organize large-scale, specialized livestock farms. In the interests of the optimum development of the entire region and retardation of the rate at which the Aral Sea's level is dropping, in our opinion it is necessary that the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources accelerate the planning and construction of new discharge routes, which the ministry agreed to do 2 years ago. The construction of the Tuyamuyunskaya dam and reservoir should also be completed more rapidly, and work continued on enlarging the channel and increasing the transmissive capacity of the Tashsakinskiy Canal in order to alleviate the deficit and increase the supply of water for the lands of the Khorezmkiy and Tashauzkiy oases, as was specified by the engineering plan.

However, all these measures are only suitable for improving the use of the existing water resources and increasing the water supply for the region's agriculture in the near future. However, the fundamental solution of the prospective problems involved in developing the productive forces on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya -- as, of course, it is for all of Central Asia and Kazakhstan -- is inextricably related to the diversion of part of the flow of the Siberian rivers to this area.

In a speech at the 25th CPSU Congress, Sh.R. Rashidov, alternate member of the CC CPSU Politburo and first secretary of the CC CP of Uzbekistan, said: "The development of irrigation agriculture will be held back by the ever increasing deficit of irrigation water. In 4 out of the last 5 years there were droughts in our area, so that the republic has available huge masses of unexploited land. If we have water, then in these regions where there is much warmth and large labor resources, we will sharply increase cotton production, reap two large and guaranteed grain harvests a year, and cultivate gardens and vineyards. Therefore, we ask that the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers solve the problem of completing the scientific research during this five-year plan, as well as the work for researching and planning the hydraulic engineering structures that will be needed to divert part of the flow of Siberian rivers to the Aral Sea's basin and Central Asia. The solution of this problem is a matter of great importance to the State."

The construction of the gigantic Siberia-Central Asia Canal and the numerous engineering and hydraulic structures connected

with it will make it possible to use millions of hectares of land in Central Asia and Kazakhstan that have lain empty for thousands of years, increase the production of cotton, vegetables, melons, potatoes, fruit, grapes, and other agricultural products, and improve the supply of these products to different regions of the country, particularly Siberia and the Far East. The rapid increase in the population of Uzbekistan and all of Central Asia will make it possible to provide the newly opened lands with all the needed labor resources. This will create all the necessary conditions for a further increase in the production of valuable agricultural crops and the satisfaction of the needs of the inhabitants of both this extensive region and Siberia for food products.

In the "Basic Directions for the Development of the USSR's National Economy, 1976-1980," which was approved by the 25th CPSU Congress, the following goal was formulated: "To conduct scientific research and use it as a basis for planning developments related to the problem of diverting part of the drainage of northern and Siberian rivers to Central Asia, Kazakhstan and the Volga basin." This measure is extremely necessary in order to eliminate the deficit in water resources that, given the compounded rates of agricultural development, will be felt even more sharply in the next 8-10 years.

Therefore, in our planned economy it is exceptionally important that there be no lapse in time between the diversion of part of the flow of Siberian rivers to Central Asia and the exhaustion of the local water resource reserves. In order to insure this, construction work should begin more quickly. The timely solution of this problem will determine the future development of not only agriculture, but also the productive forces of Central Asia and Kazakhstan on the whole, with particular emphasis on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya. It is also needed in order to preserve the Aral Sea, the progressive desiccation of which, as we have seen, is fraught with many negative consequences.

The solution of all the extremely important problems enumerated above will make it possible to insure the integrated and accelerated development of the productive forces on the lower reaches of the Amudar'ya.

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ACADEMICIAN TUCHKEVICH ON THE ESTONIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 27 Apr 78 p 3

[Interview with Academician V. Tuchkevich, member of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences USSR, and deputy chairman of the Council for Coordination of Scientific Activity of Academies of Sciences of the Union Republics with the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences USSR, N. Pshirkov, by L. Bozhich]

[Text] Prominent scientists of Moscow and Leningrad were in our republic during the past week. Among them were academicians, corresponding members, and doctors and candidates of sciences--important specialists in various branches of knowledge. The guests visited many institutions of the republic's Academy of Sciences.

On the eve of their departure from Tallin, we requested the leader of the group, member of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences USSR, V. Tuchkevich, and the deputy chairman of the Council for Coordination of Scientific Activity of Academies of Sciences of the Union Republics with the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences USSR, N. Pshirkov, to answer several questions.

[Question] As I understand it, the arrival of such an imposing commission of the country's prominent scientists is not simply a courtesy visit. Is it not probable that you had your specific program and tasks?

[V. Tuchkevich] Of course. We were to become thoroughly familiar with the scientific activity of the institutions of the republic's Academy of Sciences, render them scientific-methodological assistance in case of necessity, and define more accurately the basic directions in research by Estonian scientists.

[N. Pshirkov] Everything that we learned, saw, and heard here will be generalized and examined at the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences USSR which, as you know, coordinates the development of all science in the country. By the way, the last time that the Estonian Academy of Sciences' report was heard was long ago--in 1964.

[Question] And how did you find things? Did our scientists accomplish much during the last 13 or 14 years?

[V. Tuchkevich] On the whole, the impressions were most favorable. We noted with satisfaction that during this time Estonia's scientific institutions had developed noticeably and a number of new research directions appeared (for example, studies of the Baltic Sea and problems in the integrated use of fuel shales, phosphorites, peat, and water). The experience which Estonia has amassed in the use of shales is now being actively utilized in the country and in the areas where this useful raw material is being extracted. New studies in the field of cybernetic technical development as well as in the field of physics, astrophysics, geology, experimental biology, study of the Ugro-Finns, and so forth have also received wide fame.

Extremely noteworthy is the fact that the results of many studies by Estonian scientists are finding wide application in the national economy. It is sufficient to name merely the scientific bases for the long-term plan for the development and disposition of capacities in industry, agriculture, construction, and domestic services which were worked out by associates of the Institute for Economics. Or the successes of the chemists in the field of synthesizing superpure substances and the introduction of means for plant protection and insect extermination. The republic can take pride that its Institute of Cybernetics has become the leading center for the employment of methods using nuclear-magnetic resonance in studies of the structure and properties of solids as well as for the broad introduction of contemporary computer technology in scientific studies. The SKB [special design office] of the academy was the first in the country to develop a unit for preparative chromatography. Many such examples can be presented for each institute.

[N. Pshirkov] In my opinion, the successful development of Estonian science in recent years was determined to a considerable degree by the fact that the republic's scientists, in devoting primary attention to basic research, also developed actively in parallel the applied branches of science. As was reported to us, in the last year alone the results of scientific studies on 40 works were turned over for introduction into practice, 37 applications for inventions were submitted, 16 author's certificates and 3 foreign patents were obtained, and contractual work worth 2,738,900 rubles was accomplished. This is a weighty contribution to the solution of many urgent problems in the republic's economic development.

[Question] What impression concerning the ties of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [ESSR] with other scientific centers of the country remained with you?

[V. Tuchkevich] The ties are rather vast and multifaceted, especially with Moscow and Leningrad. Some institutes or groups of Estonian scientists together with scientists of other republics are participating successfully in implementing a number of integrated research programs which have scientific and national-economic significance. Among them, we should mention the co-workers of the Institute of Astrophysics and Atmospheric Physics consisting of

Ch. Villman, O. Avaste, U. Veysmann, and K. Eerme. They also include cosmonauts of the USSR G. Grechko, A. Cubarev, P. Klimuka, and V. Sevast'yanov who were awarded the prize of Soviet Estonia for results in the study of luminous clouds of the atmosphere and the Earth's surface which were obtained with the use of the "Mikron" infrared teleradiometer, an instrument developed in the institute.

In our opinion, the Estonian scientists are maintaining extremely fruitful creative contacts with their colleagues from the adjacent Baltic republics and Belorussia, especially in the fields of environmental protection, chemistry, geology, studies of the Baltic Sea, and other problems. Interesting work is also being done here on programs for international cooperation (primarily along the lines of CEMA).

Nevertheless, not one point about which we have already spoken in our talk with our Estonian colleagues has slipped by us. We are speaking about the fact that in working out individual studies some academic institutes or collectives seem to shut themselves up in their own shell. Under contemporary conditions such restriction becomes an inevitable brake in the development of science. I think that the Presidium of the Estonian Academy of Sciences should send its scientists to other republics more often and for longer periods to assimilate the new technology of contemporary experimentation and for participation in the work of important scientific centers. Both science and the scientists themselves will gain from this as will, of course, the national economy.

[N. Pshirkov] Continuing the conversation about scientific ties, I should like to note the businesslike and very close collaboration which we observed here between the academic institutes and the higher educational institutions not only along the line of scientific research but also in the training of personnel--high-class specialists. Such contacts are mutually advantageous.

[Question] In your opinion, which directions in research should predominate in a national academy of sciences and, in particular, in Estonia?

[V. Tuchkevich] As is known, the specific subject matter for scientific studies in any republic is determined by its national, natural, climatic, geographical, and other features. The specific nature of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR can be seen most graphically in the field of humanitarian sciences. At the same time, it seems to us that the Academy of Sciences of the ESSR should become the leading center in the country on the study of the Baltic Sea, the chemistry of shales, shale power engineering, and a deeper study of the Ugro-Finns. All this is already developing; it is only necessary to create more favorable conditions.

[Question] By the way, how do you evaluate the conditions under which the associates of the Estonian Academy of Sciences are working?

[V. Turkevich] Here we are forced to abstain from laudatory epithets and to use their antipodes since the material base of almost all the institutes of the Estonian Academy of Sciences leaves much to be desired. The working areas

of the laboratories are extremely unsatisfactory. During the last three years, as we learned, the Ministry of Construction of the ESSR built nothing for the academy. The laboratories could be equipped with considerably better and more modern Soviet and imported equipment. You yourself understand that these factors by no means play a minor role in the success of scientific investigations.

[N. Pshirkov] Almost the same thing can be said about living conditions. We were extremely surprised that the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR where altogether about 4,000 people work does not yet have its own polyclinics and rest bases, or its own pioneer camp and kindergarten, and that its associates are poorly supplied with apartments. Unfortunately, these "minutia" in no way contribute to improving the efficiency of the scientist and all society suffers indirectly from them. I am convinced that concern which is manifested for improving the working and living conditions of the scientists is always repaid a hundred-fold. Life has proven this repeatedly.

6367

CSO: 1800

CHANGES IN MOLDAVIAN REPUBLIC'S ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 21 Apr 78 p 4

[Article: "Chronicle"]

[Text] Ukases of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR's Supreme Soviet accomplished changes in the republic's administrative division.

The village of Pervomayskoye, Pervomayskiy village Soviet, Slobodzeyskiy rayon has been included in the category of municipal-type settlements. It has been given the name Pervomaysk. The Pervomayskiy village Soviet has been converted to a settlement Soviet of People's Deputies.

The following village Soviets have been formed:

--in Kriulyanskiy rayon--Koshernitskiy village Soviet with its center in the village of Koshernitsa. It includes the villages of Koshernitsa and Mardar'yevka of the Boshkanskiy village Soviet in the same rayon. The village Soviet of Slobodzeya-Dushka with its center in the village of Slobodzeya-Dushka, which includes the village of Slobodzeya-Dushka of the Kriulyanskiy settlement Soviet;

--in the Chadyr-Lungrkiy rayon--the Novoselovskiy village Soviet with its center in the village of Novoselovka. It included the villages of Balaban and Novoselovka of Aluatskiy village Soviet in the same rayon.

It was prescribed that deputies of the Kriulyanskiy settlement Soviet who were elected from the election districts of the village of Slobodzeya-Dushka are deputies of the newly formed village Soviet of Slobodzeya-Dushka in Kriulyanskiy rayon. In the future, until the conduct of the next elections to the local Soviets of People's Deputies. Boshkanskiy and Slobodzeya-Dushka village Soviets of the Kriulyanskiy rayon are permitted to operate with a smaller number of deputies than called for by the Election Statute.

Draslichenskiy village Soviet of Strashenskiy rayon becomes part of Kriulyanskiy rayon. It is prescribed that the deputies of the Strashenskiy rayon Soviet of People's Deputies elected by the election districts of the Draslichenskiy village Soviet are deputies of the Kriulyanskiy rayon Soviet of People's Deputies.

6367

CSO: 1801

ESTONIAN PARTY HISTORY INSTITUTE HOLDS TALLIN SEMINAR

Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 28 Apr 78 p 3

[Article: "Permanent Seminar"]

[Text] The first lesson of the "Permanent Seminar on Questions of Methodology, Historiography, and the Science of Sources for the Science of Party History" which was organized by the Institute of Party History with the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party took place on 27 April in Tallin.

The editor in chief of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS [Problems in the History of the CPSU], Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor A. Kosul'nikov, gave a report on the illumination of methodology in the science of party history on the journal's pages. He noted that Soviet historians are working on defining more precisely the subject of historical science and its place in the overall system of sciences and on disclosing the structure of its methodology. In the methodology of historical science one should not be restricted to historical materialism alone which has a guiding function. It is also necessary to proceed from the theory of historical science itself and from specific historical categories and regular laws.

Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Belorussian SSR, I. Ignatenko, told about some of the problems in elaborating the history of the Great Patriotic War by historians of the Belorussian SSR. Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Yu. Kakhh, acquainted the listeners with a critique of new concepts on the historical development of mankind in bourgeois historiography. Candidate of Philosophical Sciences L. Bal't also gave a report.

1367

CSO: 1800

SOVKHOZ OFFICIALS SENTENCED IN LARGE-SCALE THEFT

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 26 Mar 78 p 4

[Article: "With a Stroke of the Pen"]

[Text] Since ancient times people have known how to turn grapes into an aromatic, dizzying drink. The wine makers of Kyurdamir have even learned how to impart curative powers to the wine they make from the famous "Shirvanshakhi" berries. But even the most adept of them could scarcely hold a candle to Alisakhib Abdullayev. The director of the Kyurdamir Vinicultural Sovkhoz simply converted the magnificent bluish-black grapes into...sand, rock and boards. He did this not with a wave of a magic wand, which he fortunately did not have, but with a simple stroke of the pen.

If we leaf through the trip tickets filled out from 1971 through 1974 on the sovkhoz vehicles, we can assume that the farm has decided to build a new housing development or even a whole agrocity--that is how much building material figures in them. Yet the sovkhoz heard no pounding of stone-masons' chisels, no squealing of carpenters' saws, and you could search until you turned blue for those mountains of sand, those piles of lumber and stone that the trip tickets showed had been brought to the sovkhoz.

The loads those vehicles had carried were not building materials but grapes, that marvelous gift of the Kyurdamir vines. But A. Abdullayev decided to conceal part of the rich harvest grown by the sovkhoz workers and saw to it that no word of it should appear in a single paper, including the trip tickets.

As compensation, when the berries began coming in from the personal plots of residents of the surrounding villages, receiving clerks Kara Mirzoyev and Tofik Nukhiyev couldn't keep up with entering round figures in the documents. Resoundingly clacking their abacus beads, chief bookkeeper Seyfi Dzhabrailov and cashier Ziyadkhan Soltanov added and subtracted money for grapes--that weren't there.

This turn-in of grapes from the private plots was organized by Alisakhib Abdullayev only on paper. In the performance he staged there were in the foreground only soloists: managers of the sovkhoz departments, receiving clerks, accountants. All the rest remained, as they say, "off camera." Many of the rank-and-file villagers never even suspected that they had turned in grapes. Indeed, some of them had not even grown them, and were astonished beyond expression when they subsequently saw their names and even their signatures on the financial documents. Not that the signatures were at all like the originals. Cashiers Ziyadkhan Soltanov and Magomed Samedov, who were themselves the principal artists in reproducing them in the payrolls, didn't think it necessary to attempt likeness. No great calligraphers, they just signed away haphazardly--just try to make out whose signature that is!

Unaccounted surplus grapes of the sovkhoz were used by the schemers to cover up the absence of the fruits allegedly received from private persons, and the money for them went into their pockets.

A candidate in agricultural sciences, Alisakhib Abdullayev even endeavored in his intrigue to introduce the principles of NOT. He even invited in a "consultant," Kudrat Khalilov, who had just returned from "up the river." His experience in drawing up fictitious documents, forgeries and other crimes was widely utilized and generously rewarded by Abdullayev.

It must be said that among the people surrounding Abdullayev there were not a few like Khalilov. A criminal record seems to have been certification to A. Abdullayev of qualities he particularly prized in an employee. Years of imprisonment lay behind cashier Z. Soltanov, department manager Z. Khanlarov, winemaker and receiving clerk K. Mirzoyev. And "seasoned" people were generally appointed to positions of material responsibility and the confidence placed in them by the director proved justified.

In the 158-volume file concerning embezzlement in the Kyurdamir Vinicultural Sovkhoz we find testimony characterizing Abdullayev given by witness Il'yas Nagiyev, who was at the time chairman of the Mollakend rural soviet.

In autumn of 1973, he reports, they were told to arrange for delivery to the sovkhoz of the harvest grown by the owners of private grape plots. However, Abdullayev in conversation with him afterwards had introduced a slight modification to this directive: "There will be no grapes," the sovkhoz director had declared. "Just bring a list of persons owning vineyards."

The list was compiled and Abdullayev right in Nagiyev's presence placed opposite each name the figures "1 ton," "600 kg," "300 kg" etc. Then the list was handed over to the receiving clerks and they drew up all the other documents in conformity with them for the delivery and receipt of non-existent grapes.

Similar lists were obtained by Abdullayev in other rural soviets, too. Filled in with exaggerated figures, they generated as though by chain reaction a whole series of fictitious documents under cover of which the plunderers carried on their criminal dealings.

The appetites of the gang assembled by Abdullayev quickly grew. Even the generous gifts of the vine could not longer fully satisfy them. Around the sovkhoz vineyards there had spread like a snow-white carpet a planting of cotton, and the director of the farm turned his greedy gaze to this valuable raw material. The sovkhoz did not raise this crop, but, as the saying goes, what the eye sees, the heart longs for. The aggressive Abdullayev gained permission to set aside 50 hectares to put into cotton.

For the schemer no more was needed. The experience accumulated in viniculture was now applied by him and his confederates to the field of cotton culture. After delivering in the very first year 37 tons of raw cotton to the Sygyrlin cotton-collecting point, they came to an understanding with receiving clerk Metleb Kuliyev and he drew up papers for another 114 tons. At the sovkhoz matching fictitious documents were compiled, including pay vouchers for the disbursement of "wages" to workers and school children supposedly participating in the production of the cotton. And once more cashier Soltanov--and sometimes chief bookkeeper Dzhabrailov and department manager Khanlarov, too--would forge other people's names in the vouchers. The money would then immediately be divided among the members of the gang.

Similar intrigues were also carried out by the scoundrels from the vinicultural sovkhoz in collusion with receiving clerks Dzhafar Safarov of the Kyurdamir cotton-collecting point and Aslan Sultanov of the Mollakend point. In 1971 they appropriated in cotton dealings alone 12,600 rubles, in 1973 nearly 14,000 rubles, etc.

All together, as was irrefutably proved at the court proceedings by testimony of numerous witnesses, expert opinion and other materials of the case, the plunderers over four years appropriated 169,770.98 rubles.

The Judicial Board for Criminal Affairs of the Supreme Court of the Azerbaiydzhan SSR, which under the chairmanship of Justice M. Ibayev had spent five months painstakingly analyzing the circumstances of the case, imposed severe punishment on the plunderers in the presence of State Attorney G. Bayramov. A Abdullayev was sentenced for particularly large-scale larceny to 15 years imprisonment, to be served in a hard-labor camp, and confiscation of all his personally owned property. Before the All-Union Certification Commission a petition has been instituted to deprive Abdullayev of his candidate's degree in agricultural sciences. Sentenced to 14 years each were S. Dzhabrailov and Z. Khanlarov, to 13--Z. Soltanov, to 12 years each--K. Mirzoyev and T. Nukhiyev, to 11--M. Kuliyev. All together, various sentences were given to 13 persons. Action is under way to exact from those convicted the total of the money stolen. They have had their property confiscated.

11361
CSO: 1800

UNSOLVED PROBLEMS OF LITHUANIA'S INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Vil'nyus SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 18 Apr 78 pp 2, 3

[Article by A. Drobnis, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission: "Consolidate Achievements, Work More Productively and Better"]

[Text] The labor collectives of the republic in carrying out the decisions of the December (1977) Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU are actively struggling for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the state plan of the 3rd year of the five-year plan and of the socialist obligations they have accepted in response to the Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Central Committee of the VLKSM [All-Union Lenin Young Communist League] to party, Soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and to the workers of the Soviet Union. The collectives of the industrial enterprises accomplished the planned tasks ahead of schedule in the sales of commodity output and in the production of many of the most important products. On the whole, the industry of the republic exceeded the plan of the first quarter in the sales of output by 2.5 percent. Sales in excess of the quota amounted to 42 million rubles. In comparison with the first quarter of last year production increased by 6.1 percent -- this is significantly greater than what was envisaged by the tasks of the annual plan.

The results of the work of the collectives in the industrial enterprises, which were achieved in the area of the intensification of production and in improving its effectiveness, were considerable. The productivity of labor increased by 4.5 percent in comparison with the same period for last year. As a result of this, three-fourths of the total increase in production has been accomplished.

The collectives of the enterprises of the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, the Ministry of the Furniture and Wood Processing Industry, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of the Meat and Milk Industry, and the Ministry of the Flour-Grinding and Mixed Fodder Industry were especially productive producers in the first quarter. It is pleasant to note that the number of progressive enterprises is constantly growing, and as a result -- the number of enterprises not accomplishing their production tasks is decreasing appreciably.

In evaluating the results of industrial production, which have on the whole been favorable, it must, however, be recognized that the achievements could be even more significant if the work of all enterprises without exception had been better organized and if there had been greater responsibility for the final result. In individual sections of production and management the work still does not completely meet the requirements established in the decisions of the December Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU and in the speech delivered at the Plenum by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

As is known, the stable, rhythmic work of each enterprise over the whole year is an important prerequisite for improving industrial work indexes. Unfortunately, in the first quarter work was not organized in this manner everywhere. And today, in essence, the same "chronic" troubles are repeated when individual enterprises establish lightened tasks in the first months of the quarters and in the last months -- excessively intensified tasks with the connivance of the ministries and departments. This upsets the normal rhythm of production. At the end of the quarter the number of delays increases. Thus in March the sales plan for output was not completed by 40 enterprises of the republic while the plan for the quarter, on the whole, was not completed by only six enterprises.

Several industrial enterprises did not fulfill production plans for a number of most important products. Among them -- the Kaunas Synthetic Fiber Plant imeni 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution, the Vil'nyus Electric Welding Equipment Plant, the Sargenskiy Ceramic Plant, the Kapsukas Reinforced Concrete Structures Plant, the Kaunas ZheK [Reinforced Concrete Structures]-1 Plant, the Tauras Beer Plant, and many others. The late delivery of materials and violation of the agreed upon schedule disrupt the normal functioning of the mechanisms of the whole national economy.

Definite work is being conducted in the republic on the more rational utilization of the labor force. In this area we have quite a few positive examples. Thus, the total increase in production output was accomplished just by increasing the productivity of labor in the collectives of the enterprises of the Ministry of Forestry and the Ministry of the Timber Industry, the production associations of Litbytkhim [expansion unknown] and of the cellulose-paper industry, the Vil'nyus Machine-Tool Building Plant imeni 40th Anniversary of the October Revolution, the Akmyane Cement-Slate Combine, the Ionava Furniture Combine, and several others.

Fairly good indexes were achieved in this area by the collectives of the industrial enterprises of the two largest cities in the republic -- Vil'nyus and Kaunas, which by means of increasing the productivity of labor respectively received 92 and 83 percent of the total increase in production output.

In talking about the importance of increasing the productivity of labor, we should establish the fact that labor collectives are far from utilizing all the available opportunities in this area. In the enterprises there is

no lack of reasons hampering the rate of increase in the productivity of labor. Because of an insufficient level of production organization, the plans for increasing the productivity of labor have not been fulfilled for 3 months by 21 enterprises. The economy of the republic suffered a loss of more than 2 million rubles. And in the current year the same deficiency is appearing in the work of industry -- the number of collectives not meeting their goals for increasing the productivity of labor is significantly exceeding the number of enterprises not fulfilling output sales plans.

Concern is caused by the fact that in some associations and in individual enterprises, output per worker did not even reach the level of the output per worker of the first quarter of last year. Among such collectives -- the production association of building-finishing machinery, the Vil'nyus Plastic Parts Plant, the Kaunas Inkbras Rubber Plant, the Baltiya Garment Production Association, the Kaunas Reinforced Concrete Structures Plant No 3. There is no doubt that with the accelerated mechanization of production processes and the more extensive application of corresponding incentive measures for accomplishing a larger volume of work by a smaller number of workers and with the strict observance of production discipline, real prerequisites exist for each enterprise to achieve the planned level of productivity.

In order to increase the efficiency of production, it is necessary to conduct a more decisive struggle against lost working time, which is still very significant. In the first place, serious attention should be given to these problems by the ministries of the meat-milk industry and agricultural construction, the republic association Litsel'khoztekhnika [expansion unknown], the Klaypeda Sirius Plant, and the Plunge Artificial Leather Plant. Evidently, it is time to significantly increase the responsibility of economic directors for a more rational utilization of working time.

The acceleration of increased productivity of labor -- is a complex problem, whose resolution depends upon united efforts, the creative initiative of the collectives themselves, and on their ability to uncover and sufficiently utilize available reserves at each work position. It is necessary to provide for the more extensive introduction of the progressive experience of workers in fraternal republics. Many enterprises of the country are successfully applying the work methods of the Sheki Chemical Combine, the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR, and other enterprises along with their experience in the more rational utilization of productive capital and the labor force.

It is imperative to adopt all measures for further accelerating the rates of increase in the productivity of labor, in the first place, by improving the organization of production and labor and the more decisive introduction of technical innovations and advanced production processes. It must be stated that in the current year the accomplishment of state scientific-technical tasks is insufficient. Thus the goals pertaining to advanced production methods, mechanization, and automation were not completely achieved

in the first quarter by the Ministry of Agricultural Construction, the republic association Litsel'khostekhnika, the State Committee for the Publishing, Lithography, and Book Trade, the Panevezhis Auto-Compressor Plant, and several other departments and enterprises.

All possible means must be employed to develop a movement for work without delay, for this is an important reserve for improving quantitative as well as qualitative indexes in the work of industry.

In all the sectors of industry without exception it is necessary to maintain accelerated rates of growth in production and the productivity of labor while making maximum utilization of available internal reserves for ensuring intensive, round-the-year, rhythmic work. It should be noted that next year it will become necessary to provide for faster rates of work than in the current year. This will make it possible to develop the necessary foundations for the successful accomplishment of the planned tasks of the five-year plan as a whole.

It is especially important to be persistent in the attempt to find additional opportunities for increasing the production of consumer goods. Each sector of industry, each enterprise is obligated to make a concrete contribution to accomplishing this task of vast economic and political importance. Here lies a vast field for revealing the initiative of the Councils of People's Deputies.

It is imperative to decisively strengthen discipline and responsibility in the production of consumer goods and ensure that all enterprises will fulfill the obligations stipulated by the agreements and will deliver to the trading network goods that meet the standards agreed upon with regard to selection and quality.

The ministries and departments, associations and enterprises, are making considerable effort to introduce into production new, qualitatively improved products, to expand the selection, and to improve its qualitative parameters. The number of articles awarded the state Mark of Quality is growing. In the current, third year of the five-year plan, as is known, no less than 400 products should be ready for the awarding of these respected titles, and the production of articles falling into a higher category of quality was increased by 20 percent. In order to accomplish this task, well coordinated efforts are needed, there should be a more decisive and consistent introduction of an overall system of management with regard to quality output.

Through united efforts the farmers of the republic are organized in their struggle to ensure a future harvest from the spring sowing, and cattle-breeders are struggling to increase the production of meat and milk. State plans in the first quarter for the purchasing of livestock products have been successfully fulfilled. However, it is necessary to note that not all the rayons of the republic accomplished their task. Thus, plans for the purchasing of cattle and poultry were not fulfilled by Ionishkskiy,

Pakruoyskiy, Radvilishkskiy, and Shilutskiy Rayons, milk -- Birzhayskiy, Vil'nyusskiy, Zarasayskiy, and several other rayons. Large goals for state purchases of livestock products, especially meat, have been established for the current year. Therefore, under no circumstance should efforts be weakened to further intensify the breeding of cattle and increase its productivity.

The successful realization of the program of capital construction is an important condition for the further development of the national economy. In the current year construction workers will be faced with a considerable volume of work. It is imperative to pay particular attention to the accomplishment of measures for increasing the efficiency of capital construction. For this purpose the concentration of capital investments was significantly increased this year, the number of sites being constructed simultaneously was reduced, and efforts were concentrated on initial construction sites.

How are the designated plans being accomplished? The data from reports show that the results achieved in the first quarter were quite good. Construction workers accomplished quite a few important tasks of the state plan in all sectors of the economy on time and in a qualitative manner. The planned task for putting fixed capital into operation was accomplished. Incidentally, 22 percent more fixed capital was put into operation than during the same period last year. The task for the construction of housing was also successfully accomplished.

However, it must be established that in the current year there are many deficiencies and defects in the work of the construction organizations. Construction-assembly work plans were not accomplished in projects of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Ministry of Culture, the State Committee on Vocational-Technical Education, the Academy of Sciences, and other ministries and departments. Funds for the construction of kindergartens and nursery schools were not completely utilized.

At the beginning of the year some organizations contracted by the basic construction ministries did not do satisfactory work. As a result, the Ministry of Construction accomplished 97 percent of the plans for building and installation work, the Ministry of Agriculture -- 93 percent, and the overall volume of projects completed by them was even a little less than the volume of projects for the corresponding period last year. This is a serious deficiency in the work of the construction organizations.

The Shyaulyay Housing Construction Combine and the Alitus, Mazheykskiy, Ionava, and Panevezhis construction trusts completed considerably less building and installation projects in the first quarter. The organizations of the Ministry of Construction did substandard work on projects for communications, science, culture, and health care. At projects which were supposed to be put into operation in the current year 96 percent of the plan was completed. The situation at the construction site of the Mazheykskiy Petroleum Refining Plant gives cause for serious concern. This enterprise is supposed

to be put into operation next year, and the results of the fulfillment of the whole five-year plan in the industry of the republic will, to a certain degree, depend on whether it is put into operation on time. Therefore, it is necessary to take all measures for accelerating the work on this important project.

The Ministry of Agriculture did not complete the planned tasks for the construction of agricultural projects. In the system of this ministry there are many small organizations, whose volume of work has recently even been declining. They have not been given the necessary aid not only by the ministry, but also by the rayon executive committees.

The construction organizations are experiencing a labor shortage. This shortage would not seem so great if productivity of labor were increased. However, the average production of a single worker in comparison with previous years has even fell off in certain organizations doing contract work. The attention of the construction workers should be directed toward the strengthening of labor discipline, the better utilization of construction equipment, an improvement in the organization of construction projects, and the overall mechanization of construction and auxiliary processes. It is also necessary to pay greater attention to improving the working and living conditions of construction workers and to the organization of food service at the construction sites.

The late delivery of construction materials, structures, and equipment is one of the reasons for the unsatisfactory work of organizations working under contract. Meanwhile, available construction materials, metal, and timber are utilized uneconomically and irrationally. The tasks for reducing the estimated costs of construction projects are not being accomplished. The work of the designers is insufficiently oriented, checked, and evaluated from the point of view of reducing the capacity of construction materials and the estimated cost of construction.

Improving the production and economic activities of the basic construction organizations of the republic is of extremely great significance since the accomplishment of social-economic tasks not only for the current year but also for the whole five-year plan will, to a great degree, depend on this. It is necessary that clients and organizations working under contract pay more attention to the on-time conclusion of contracts and the drawing-up of financing in the banks. It should be noted that until now some clients including the ministries of the furniture and wood processing industries, the construction materials industry, procurements, municipal services, the Kayshyadorskiy, Mazheykskiy, and Trakayiskiy rayispolkoms have not yet drawn up the financing of construction projects at the bank. It is urgent that this work be accomplished.

The work of all the construction organizations and clients, beginning with the ministries and departments and ending with managements, production

groups, enterprises, and organizations, should serve the chief goal -- the on-time accomplishment of planned tasks.

The organized, coordinated work of all forms of transport is of extremely great importance in the matter of the successful accomplishment of the tasks placed before industrial and construction collectives. Alas, in the first quarter neither the Vil'nyus nor the Shyaulyay departments of the railways accomplished the tasks for loading and shipping freight. On the other hand, a large number of railroad cars are still standing idle held up by the loading and unloading of shipments in excess of the established norms. The directors of enterprises and organizations should pay more attention to the operations of the transport services, and the ministries and departments should provide better control and should be more strict with regard to similar violations.

The Main Administration of the Supply of Materials and Machinery should make all efforts to avoid the disruption of the normal rhythm of intensified work at the enterprises and in the collectives because of defects in supply.

It is exceptionally important to concentrate the attention of the collectives on unresolved questions, to further develop socialist competition, and to render the labor collectives the necessary support so that each enterprise, each shop, and each production section will fulfill and overfulfill the tasks of the state plan and the accepted socialist obligations and will complete the 3rd year of the 10th Five-Year Plan with high indexes.

10576
CSO: 1800

KOSOLAPOV REVIEW OF DRAPER ET AL BOOK

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 4,
Apr 78 signed to press 17 Mar 78 pp 134-137

[Review by N. Kosolapov: "Against the Spirit of the Times"]

[Text] Discussion on questions of détente in the United States has passed through two apparent stages of development. At the end of the 1960's to the beginning of the 1970's the topic of the desirability and attainability of detente in principle was discussed, primarily in the area of Soviet-American relations from the viewpoint of the "national security" of the United States. A fundamental watershed in the discussion lay between those who in one way or another came out in favor of detente and its resolute opponents.

During those years a significant part of the ruling circles of the United States in considering the entire aggregate of domestic policy and foreign policy circumstances, came to the conclusion that it was necessary to evaluate soberly the strategic and political reality which the Soviet Union and world socialist cooperation represent in our time.

Approximately since 1974, the discussion has continued no longer on the subject of "whether or not there will be détente" but on the question of "what kind of detente" would correspond to the interests of the United States to the greatest degree. At the center of attention were the ultimate and intermediate goals of detente, its concrete forms, means and rate of development.

Whereas formerly H. Kissinger declared repeatedly that in contemporary conditions "there is no alternative to detente," now special assistant to President Carter on national security, Zb. Brzezinski, confines himself to saying that from the point of view of the present administration, "detente is desirable."* Here a change is taking place from the thesis "detente is inevitable" to the thesis "détente is one of the possible means of achieving the goals."

*U.S. News and World Report, 30 May 1977.

The positions of some of the participants of the discussion have also changed (at least in form). At the first stage the opponents of détente considered it possible and necessary to speak out "openly" but now such a frank position could threaten certain costs. Therefore many confirmed opponents of détente have changed their tactics: while proclaiming the desirability of détente, at the same time they set before it goals whose realization objectively would signify not relaxation of tension in the world, but, on the contrary, aggravation of confrontation.

The authors of Defending America. Toward a New Role in the Post-Détente World are also speaking out precisely from these positions which, in essence, reject détente. The comments of Senator H. Jackson printed on the dust jacket may serve as the "visiting card" of this book. "Defending America is a powerful antidote to the complacency which marks much of recent thinking about America's foreign and defense policies."

Thirteen authors who have long ago proved to be confirmed advocates of the "hard line" in U.S. foreign policy are represented in the collection. Six of them belong to the clan of "Sovietologists"; four are members of the influential Council on Foreign Relations. All the authors at various times have acted as or continue to act as consultants to the government, State Department or Defense Department. The majority occupy prominent posts in scientific institutions and universities of the United States. J. Schlesinger, now energy secretary in Carter's administration and in preceding Republican administrations director of the CIA and secretary of defense, wrote the introduction to the collection. Evidently in the general chorus of those speaking out against détente in the United States the book was assigned the role of "heavy artillery," called upon to unite "scientific" statement with polemical fire and the political influence of the authors, from the very outset.

The authors of the articles in the collection are ideologists of that trend in the internal policy struggle in the United States on problems of détente whose adherents view this process not so much as a deviation from the policy and psychology of the "cold war," so much as only a certain forced change in the forms and methods of the latter. While not speaking out openly against the very idea of normalization of relations with the USSR, at the same time they subject the policy of the United States in the area of American-Soviet relations, especially during the period of H. Kissinger's tenure in the post of secretary of state, to sharp criticism.

Their main difference with Kissinger consists in evaluation of the long-term goals of détente. From the point of view of the authors of the collection, it is admissible and expedient for the United States only if in the course of it they will succeed in "replaying" the United States' foreign policy defeats of the 1950's-1960's and foisting on the Soviet Union the American conception of and conditions for the implementation of détente. "Shall we...define...this word 'détente' (and the policy

which it implies)," P. Seabury asks, "in ways congruent with our interests, or shall we discard it as hopelessly incompatible with them and seek other ways of arranging our thoughts and actions" (p 233).

Hence the desire inherent in all of the authors to convince the reader of the "danger" of genuine relaxation of international tension and further normalization of Soviet-American relations, to "prove" (how many times!) the "aggressiveness" and "insidiousness" of the foreign policy goals of the USSR, to construct and "lay the foundation" for a regular set of means of pressuring the Soviet Union. At the same time they try to instill in the reader anxiety about present-day and especially future positions of the United States in the world and about America's internal preparedness to defend these positions (pp 32, 35).

The compilers of the collection note that their shared aspiration to re-interpret the goals and forms of détente is a part of those complex internal policy processes in the United States which to a decisive degree were caused by the defeat of American aggression in Vietnam. It is precisely under the influence of this defeat, Schlesinger thinks, that a reappraisal of domestic and foreign policy started in the United States and formation of a "restoration of national spirit" and "search for sobriety and precise directions" for the future began. As a result, he says, now "once again we are turning to serious examination of our longer-term interests and that more or less permanent role that the United States must play in world affairs" (p xi).

All this, according to Schlesinger, assumes rejection of a number of "illusions." Among such illusions the former secretary of defense includes primarily hopes associated with détente. He endeavors to prove that it is precisely the Soviet Union which, while proclaiming its aspiration toward relaxation of international tension, in reality does not want to renounce hostility and confrontation with the United States. "/Intensification/ of the ideological /struggle/ [in boldface]," Schlesinger writes, "seems scarcely consistent with the relaxation of tension" (p xii, Schlesinger's emphasis--N. K.). And since in the continuing struggle "only the United States has sufficient power to maintain freedom and diversity throughout the world--to the degree necessary for the flourishing of our own social order," then, he says, it is necessary "to be alert to the tactical and strategic objectives of the Soviet Union in all realms--political, economic, military and societal" (pp xii-xiii).

Open reexamination and identification of the struggle of ideas with struggle in general, including even its military form, plainly shows that the aspiration to discredit détente, to prove its "harmfulness" for the United States, clearly dominates the authors above all other considerations.

The entire collection is clearly oriented toward giving a model of "alertness according to Schlesinger." In accordance with the cited

purpose, the book is divided into four parts. The first, the largest section, contains articles in which the authors try, in a spirit congenial to them, to correct the conception of détente, to characterize its development in 1970-1975 from the positions described above and also to present the correlation of forces of the USSR and United States as a whole and in individual regions in a tendentious light.

A number of authors (Thompson, Marshall, Seabury) call "breaking the will of the West," the inability of the ruling circles of the leading imperialistic countries to recognize the "problem" "in time," a key factor in the successes of Soviet foreign policy. Thereby they think that the West displayed "internal psychological weakness" and "lack of will and firmness."

Although it is declared in the collection that the military topic is considered here "in the light of détente," the conclusions and recommendations of the authors are very distant from the real tasks of relaxing tension and, in particular, from such a key task as supplementing a political détente with a military one. On the contrary, they directly emphasize the undesirability for the West of any positive measures in the area of military détente. E. Luttwak declares that since the USSR does not display readiness to accept the Western concept of "balance" at the negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, isn't it time to issue an ultimatum: "balanced reductions or nothing" and thereby "give a decent burial" to the Vienna negotiations (p 185)? N. Polmar attempts to "prove" the growing threat to American naval communications arising from the Soviet naval and even fishing fleets. Finally, P. Nitze develops the thesis that the United States has concentrated too much attention on the creation of those components of strategic arms which are intended for strikes against analogous forces of the other side and "underestimated" the significance of forces aimed against cities and industrial regions. He urges Washington to "balance" these two strategic components, portraying this policy almost as a guarantee of further development of relaxation of international tension.

Some of the authors' arguments are not devoid of a certain sober approach. Thus, nothing that the conception of détente serves for the USSR as a logical development of ideas of peaceful coexistence, which the Soviet Union earlier declared completely openly and frankly, P. Seabury notes that to understand the meaning of détente and its prospects it is important to raise questions not only about the position and intentions of the USSR, but primarily about the reasons which have impelled the United States itself to enter into détente in relations with the Soviet Union. Seabury thinks that "American initiatives in détente" were directly associated with the goal of "cooling the nation down" after a series of shocks and a domestic policy outburst caused by the combination of losing two wars—a foreign one in Vietnam and the domestic "war on poverty."

"That we have paid costs, and severe ones," the authors asserts, "to purchase this time of civic renewal is certain...primarily in foreign policy costs" (pp 240-241). The argument quoted is interesting primarily because it shows the contradictoriness of approaches of the ruling class of the United States to the problem of détente. Understanding of the obligatoriness, the necessity, of détente for the United States itself, from the point of view of domestic and foreign policy needs of the ruling elite, combines in these spheres with clearly unfounded hope that they will succeed in dictating American conditions for détente.

We should note that the views advocated by the authors of the collection in certain ways have something in common with the ideas which have recently had well-known currency in administration circles. Such, in particular, are hopes that détente must lead to "in-depth reorganization of the Soviet political culture" and that an indispensable condition of its continuation is "psychological disarmament" of the USSR and satisfaction of the demands masked by alleged concern for human rights (pp 208, 212, 216).

Such, too, are the calculations of the opportunity for more active use of economic relations as a subject for political bargaining with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, G. Grossman thinks, needs, he says, developed economic relations with the United States, while the latter supposedly does not experience as strong a need in such relations. Therefore the "United States policy should aim at trading economic advantages to the USSR for political benefits to us [the United States] and the rest of the West" (p 65). The goal of this exchange would be "to provide our [that is, American--N. K.] diplomacy with effective bargaining instruments" and "to impede the growth of...military power" of the Soviet Union (p 78). Therefore Grossman starts from the conviction that the West's "economic power is its strongest instrument--perhaps its only instrument--in dealing with the Soviets short of [military] force" [idem].

Preaching economic blackmail in respect to socialist countries does not sparkle with novelty and can not promise success. In essence, Grossman's theses are in complete contradiction to the real interests of the economic system of the United States. This is evidenced by numerous statements of influential representatives of American business, who recognize the necessity for the United States itself of developing mutually beneficial economic ties with the USSR.

At the same time the collection's participants take up arms against the theory of "stimulation of Soviet behavior," according to which, having repudiated the "cold war," it is necessary to use other, "softer" forms of pressure on the USSR, which had already appeared under Kissinger and which continues to have wide circulation even now. T. Draper, however, draws a conclusion from this not of the necessity of a realistic approach to the building of relations with the Soviet Union, but, on the contrary, that it is "imprudent and implausible to conduct a foreign policy..."

without getting rid of the last vestiges of the illusions bred by détente" (pp 19-20). He thereby allows himself cynical and abusive comparisons of détente with the policy of "appeasement."

As is well known, the approach which regards American-Soviet relations as uniting in themselves opposite principles: both elements of rivalry and possible elements of cooperation, depending upon specific circumstances, has predominated in the present administration. To the authors of the collection, the idea of cooperation between the two countries and two social systems is simply alien.

It is highly significant that the collection claims to portray "the role of America in the world after détente"--in other words, the idea of the inevitability of an "end of détente" is foisted on the reader. Urging "renovation" of the foreign policy strategy of the United States, for "reinterpretation of the new correlation of forces in the world," "displaying to the world the face of America once again having found a goal and moving toward its achievement" (p 24), the authors, for their part, are not able to offer any original conceptions of orientators which might serve as the basis for such a strategy.

This crisis of ideas in the camp of the opponents of détente is not accidental. The authors are forced repeatedly to acknowledge not only the obvious successes of the peaceful foreign policy of the USSR, but also the growing domestic troubles of imperialism which affect its foreign policy opportunities. "Can a people reduced to a collection of exigent fractions," C. Marshall laments, "function effectively as a nation defining its role in history and doing what is necessary...to perform that role?" (pp 82, 94). It will not be easy, in the opinion of Marshall himself, to do this. But it would probably be more correct to put the question differently: will a people sincerely striving for peace and a better life, having suffered through the catastrophe of the Vietnam war and the shame of "watergate," want to heed the calls of those advocates of international confrontation and apologists of the "cold war" who had learned nothing?

The intended propagandistic volley at the policy of peace and cooperation in reality turned out to be a collection of antiquated propagandistic cliches and prescriptions true to the spirit of the "cold war" and at the same time still an involuntary acknowledgement of the crisis state of the foreign policy strategy of the "hawks" camp and of the lack of any clear and well thought out slogans among them. The latter is natural: those who act against the spirit of the times inevitably reach impasses and take up positions incompatible with the interests of the nation.

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